CUTBACKS TO PROSPERITY: THE KILGORE BILL FIGHT

by Marcel Scherer

AUGUST 22
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NEW MASSES

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KEYS TO A LASTING PEACE

by R. Palme Dutt

MR. LIPPMANN'S WAR AIMS

by John Stuart

HOWARD FAST'S NEW NOVEL: FREEDOM ROAD

reviewed by Samuel Sillen

THE LUXURY OF PARTISANSHIP

by the Editors

LETTERS FROM OUR READERS:

"WHERE WE DISAGREE WITH NEW MASSES"

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

THERE'S a title on our masthead which reads "Field Director." The girl behind the title is known to many of you—others have yet to be pleased to meet her. She's Doretta Tarmon, who's been with NM about four years, and who works doggedly from one end of the country to the other, raising money for the magazine, organizing Friends of New Masses Groups, getting subs, and directing the sub-getters we have in the field. She's been in two-thirds of the states of the Union, talked and worked with all kinds of people from a minister in Salt Lake City, and a prominent college professor in Princeton, N. J., to the hod-carriers' union in Wichita, Kans. It is impossible to explain her energy in words—it has to be seen. Three-fourths of the time she's out of New York (in four years, through personal contacts, she's brought in 3,000 subscriptions), but when she's in town her first interest outside the office is her apartment. She's a passionate (we can think of no other word for it) housekeeper and an ardent cook; loves to entertain. She likes most movies but can always tell when one is too bad to sit through—the bottoms of her feet begin to tickle, so she knows it's time to walk out. Her most recent favorite is *They Met in Moscow*. Wears red fingernail polish when there's time to put it on, and in spare minutes likes to write short stories. Before she came to NM she worked in the labor field, in the citrus belt of the South, where she organized tobacco workers. Surprise, for those of you who have seen her—she has two sons, one, twenty-two, in the US Coast Guard, the other, sixteen.

NEITHER snow nor sleet has been seen around lately, but the US postmen, who go on in spite of them or their absence, have. The other day our favorite letter carrier brought us a bulletin, along with the morning mail, signed by the NY Letters Carriers, Empire Branch No. 36, National Association of Letter Carriers, AFL. Its contents made us think we take too casually the business of an important special delivery from Washington or trust that somehow that piece from Colorado will be in by next Wednesday, to make next week's deadline. The facts are these: Mailmen have not had an increase in salary since 1925, in other words, for nineteen years. Furthermore, during the depression, they took a twenty-seven percent cut. It seems more than a little ridiculous, in the face of rising living costs, and withholding taxes, that these men are held to a salary standard fixed in 1925. Two bills are now before Congress—one, sponsored by Sen. James M. Mead of New York for a $400 annual increase (S 1882); the other (a companion), introduced by Cong. George D. O'Brien, Detroit, Mich., in the House of Representatives. It would be a good idea to write your Congressmen and Senators right away and urge that these bills be brought up for an early vote. Remember—this holds good all over the United States, and think again about the guy who climbs the stairs with a special for you to sign and a handy pencil, or who just anonymously leaves that mail you find in your box in the morning when you go to work.

WE'LL buy a beer or whatever he'd prefer for Contributing Editor Frederick N. Myers, vice president of the National Maritime Union, in tribute to the wire he sent Branch Rickey, president of the Brooklyn Dodgers. Rickey recently said he'd spend the money for new players if anybody knew where he could find them. Myers replied:

"As a Brooklyn fan, born in Brooklyn of a family residing in Brooklyn for the past 200 years, and also as a plugger for the Dodgers on the seven seas, I urge in the name of 80,000 seamen who believe that the Dodgers can be a better ball team, that all available manpower is utilized.

"Urge that you take steps to see that Negro ball players are given an opportunity to put their talents to work on the Brooklyn team."

We urge that everybody else write Mr. Rickey, too.

VIRGINIA GARDNER, whose piece you're missing this week, is on vacation. Not unusual, considering the time of year, and she'll be back soon.

M. DEA.

NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results. Vol. LII, No. 8. Published weekly by THE NEW MASSES, INC., 104 East Ninth Street, New York 3, N. Y.

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Washington Office: 945 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter, June 23, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions $5.00 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mexico; six months $2.75; three months $1.50. Foreign, $6.00 a year; six months $3.25; three months $1.75. In Canada $6.00 a year, $3.50 for six months, U. S. money; single copies in Canada 20c Canadian money. Subscribers are notified that no change in address can be effected in less than two weeks. NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, addressed envelope. NEW MASSES does not pay for contributions.

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NEW MASSES

VOL. LII AUGUST 22, 1944 NO. 8

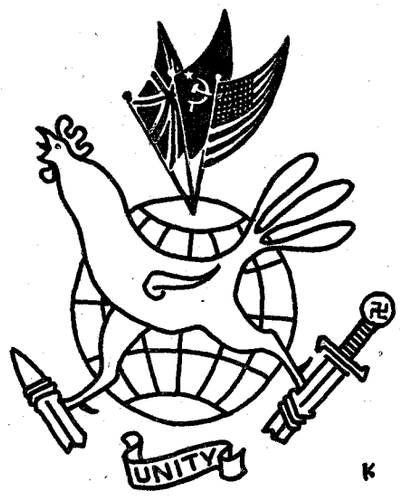
KEYS TO LASTING PEACE

By R. PALME DUTT

London, by mail.

WHAT is being demonstrated in these final battles that have now opened is the gigantic power of the democratic nations of the world once they are united in action. If so much has been achieved in the first few weeks of the first combined offensive of the United Nations, even while only a minority of the total Anglo-American forces is yet engaged against the enemy, how much more will be achieved when the entire available offensive strength of Britain and the United States in the West is flung against the beleaguered Nazi armies alongside the hammer blows of the Soviet armies in the East and the rising insurrection of the European peoples? This unity is the earnest of the future. For this unity in action we who have opposed fascism from the first onset have striven through all these years, through the black years of reverses and divisions and denials when its realization seemed to doubters and fainthearts dim and distant and an unattainable dream. Now the dream is coming true. The harvest of the efforts and sacrifices of countless millions through all these years is being reaped. The foulest tyranny the world has known, the greatest menace which has threatened to end all human progress in a world of scientifically organized barbarism and slavery, is in process of being destroyed. These are only the first fruits of the rising democratic and progressive unity of the peoples in action. They hold the promise of more, much more to come, given the maintenance and carrying forward of this unity into the new world.

A new perspective is opening out before the world. These are days of all-out action, when there is small room for long analysis or theoretical disquisitions. It is well not to count on victory over the enemy until the last battle has been fought and the final blow dealt: and not even then; for it will still be necessary to safeguard and consolidate the victory by destroying utterly the foundations of that tyranny which has darkened the world for a decade, so that it shall never rise again. All the immediate concentration of thought and endeavor must be directed to these final battles and to these tasks of destruction which must precede and create the conditions for the tasks of construction. But it is the distinctive character of the present phase that these final stages of the battle inevitably coincide with the preliminary and crucial preparatory stages of the world after the war. Hence it is no less essential that, in the midst of these final battles, which must occupy the first place in the attention and effort of all, the thought and opinion of the people must be clear, united, and determined on the new tasks of construction before us which are opening out through the present military action.



There is no wall of separation between the ending of the war in Europe and the world after the war. The war conditions will still continue in respect of the struggle against Japanese aggression. The new problems and opportunities arise out of the old—but in a radically altered balance of world relations, in which reaction will have received its heaviest setback of recent times, and the initiative and power to mold events will lie far more strongly with the progressive and popular forces. The outlines of the postwar world will not be settled by paper blueprints drawn up in a vacuum. They are being settled in present action; and only those who have played their effective part in the present struggle will be in the same proportion able to shape the postwar world. It is the present unity of the peoples in the battle against fascism that is the foundation for subsequent world organization and the hope of the future.

TO A GENERATION which has suffered many disillusionments, and been bruised by many blows and defeats and betrayals between 1918 and 1941, it is not always easy at once to adjust the vision to the new perspective of positive achievement which is opened by the defeat of fascism. There is still widespread scepticism and lack of confidence; the assumption that the future must repeat the past, that the end of a victorious anti-fascist war can only reproduce the end of the imperialist war of a generation ago, and that the prospect must inevitably be one of renewed unemployment and worsened conditions, reaction, and new world conflict. Such assumptions are not only blind to the new opportunities of positive leadership which the workingclass and popular forces can now fulfill, following the defeat of fascism and its allies throughout the world; the indulgence of such assumptions can produce the very outcome they fear. It is necessary radically to change this outlook, which still lingers among the older generation of workers, and to inspire the positive confidence of the working class and the peoples in their own united strength to strike out a new line of advance and, just as they have defeated the anti-Soviet and pro-fascist plotters, established the common alliance with the Soviet Union and are thereby smashing Hitler, so henceforward to maintain and carry forward the initiative and shape increasingly the world future.

This strengthened political leadership which the working class and democratic representatives will be able to fulfill in the new period will be effective to the extent that it takes into account in a realistic and responsible fashion the

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London Daily Worker

Goetterdaemmerung.

changed conditions, shows the united path forward for the nations which have combined in the present military alliance to combine equally for peace, and tackles the immediate concrete problems which will clamor for solution at the end of the war. The unity which is today defeating fascism must not be disrupted with the defeat of fascism, to revert to the world of 1918-39. On the contrary, it must be strengthened and carried forward into the new period. This unity, this cooperation of the Western democratic nations with the socialist Soviet Union, with the corresponding unity of the popular forces within each country in the struggle against fascism and reaction, which is the basically new feature of the world situation, completely contrary to the character of the whole epoch of 1918-39, is the key to the future; the germ of world cooperation and combined world leadership; the path of progressive social advance.

But this unity at the same time contains within itself a heavy inheritance from the past, of inevitable contradictions arising from existing economic structures and imperialist relations, as well as still unresolved divisions of the workingclass and democratic movement. These contradictions must be frankly faced, and cannot be exorcised by rosewater phrases of harmony and good intentions. But these contradictions must not be allowed to disrupt the unity which has been already achieved, in spite of the contradictions, and which can be and must be further strengthened. On the contrary, the strengthened unity of the democratic forces, both on the basis of world cooperation of the democratic nations and on the basis of progressive democratic anti-fascist unity within each country, must strive to pursue such policies as will help to counter the disruptive consequences of these contradictions during the period immediately ahead.

THE first task of the present alliance of the United Nations is to defeat the enemy, and to ensure that that defeat is final. This is set out in the terms of the Teheran Declaration for "the destruction of the German forces . . . destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea and their war plants from the air," together with the accompanying Moscow decisions for the punishment of war criminals and for the suppression of all institutions and organizations established by fascism.

The Teheran agreement comprises two main parts: the first, military, for the joint destruction of the German war machine; and the second, political, for the continuance of the partnership of the three powers in peace and for the organization of world cooperation of democratic nations. These two parts are inseparably associated; the one cannot be isolated from the other. There can be no settlement which leaves the German war machine intact or capable of restoration. This carries very definite consequences for the character of the settlement with Germany, whatever the composition of the government which may succeed Hitler. The lines of such a settlement are still the subject of negotiation between the Allied governments, and will necessarily be affected by the character of the military and political situation at the close of the war. But it is essential that opinion in the United Nations should already be clear and united on the general principles governing such a settlement, which in broad outline have already been indicated by official statements: for this is the indispensable foundation for future world cooperation and democratic security.

THIS is the more important, because there are already signs, with the improvement in the military situation, of moves and maneuvers to undermine this foundation for world peace, and, in the name of this or that abstract principle, whether of supposed national equality, or humanitarian principles, or enlightened economic policy, or deprecation of hatred or revenge, and the like, to salvage the basis of German economic and military power in Europe. These advocates show always more concern with the prospective fate of the fascist criminals than with the actual fate of the millions of their victims. It is not surprising when the reactionary pro-fascists and Munichites, or those sections of monopoly capital which were most closely linked with German monopoly capital and are now concerned to resume their suspended relations with their opposite numbers in Germany, should pursue such maneuvers.

It is more serious when there is confusion on this issue in the labor movement or among the left, not merely among pacifist elements, but among well-meaning, but confused sections who fall into the trap. For, in fact, the pro-fascist policy, which has no direct popular support, has never been able to be put through except with the aid of dangerous or confused sections in the labor movement and among the left. This was the case with Munich; it was the case with the imposition of the Vichy regime in France. Hence the importance of being on guard.

Are there signs of such tendencies in discussion in Britain at present? Unfortunately there are. It is only necessary to refer to the resolution of the seventy M.P.s, mostly Liberal and Labor, opposing the declaration of the government on the Atlantic Charter and Germany; or

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the declaration of twenty-three signatories, including the vice-chairman of the Labor Party, published in May, against any territorial weakening of Germany and for the "close organization of the economic life of an integrated Europe"—a declaration in marked opposition to the lines of the official Labor Party Executive statement on the principles of the International Postwar Settlement, published in April, which in relation to the settlement on Germany was in full agreement with government and United Nations policy.

Or we may refer to such typical declarations as that of Mr. Hore-Belisha, M.P., in the parliamentary debate on May 25, referring to the beneficient work of Hitler in "integrating the economy of Europe; he has unified transport, communications, broadcasting, the postal system; should we not use for good what this man had intended for evil?"

Or the similar propaganda for a "United States of Europe" (i.e., Western and Central Europe, or the old Pan-Europe of the Pan-German dream, realized in Hitler's "New Order") freely spread today in the left press. Or the outcry against reparations and the punishment of war criminals. All these are forms of propaganda which, in fact, protect the interests of the maintenance of German domination in Europe and would prepare the basis for renewed German military aggression.

THE measures which the United Nations will require to adopt in relation to Germany must be judged on the basis both of the concrete situation and relation of forces inside Germany, and the necessary steps to destroy the foundations of German fascism and militarism and its reactionary supporters, and also of the position of Germany in Europe, and the steps necessary to undo the effects of the Nazi "New Order" and German domination in Europe, and to prevent the revival of German domination or new aggression.

Much of the confusion which exists among considerable sections of the labor and progressive movement in Britain on this question arises from the "hangover of Versailles," i.e., the memories of the old campaigns of exposure against the Versailles Treaty, which constitute the familiar background of earlier appreciation of international politics among the present dominant generation in the labor movement (the younger generation which grew up in the struggle against fascism are less affected). The situation and conditions of the Versailles Treaty are transferred to the entirely different situation and conditions today. The Vansittart propaganda, with its racial note, further provokes this kind of reaction.

But 1944 is not 1918. Those who are still living in the past need to awaken to the realities of the present day. The Versailles Treaty was imposed against a democratic Germany, at a time when the popular revolution in Germany had overthrown the old regime, but proved not strong enough to complete its victory or break the basis of power of the old reactionary institutions, Junkerism and militarism, and when the main concern of the western powers was to prevent the development of the German revolution towards socialism or association with the Soviet Union. The Versailles Treaty penalized and discredited German democracy, while at the same time every encouragement was given to German reaction and militarism to rebuild its forces and carry forward its secret arming and formation of illegal armed corps in the name of preserving "law and order." As soon as Nazism conquered in Germany, all the restriction of the Versailles Treaty were rapidly withdrawn, and free play and assistance given for the rebuilding of German aggressive military power.

Today the situation is basically different. Eleven years of Nazi rule have heavily weakened the forces of the German workingclass and democracy, exterminated tens of thousands of its best leaders, and trained the youth in a brutal militarist-fascist school to become young hooligans and gangsters, completely cut off from any human cultural tradition or outlook. The measure of success with which this has been achieved has been alarmingly shown by the fact that it has been possible for three years to lead the German people, whose workingclass movement had once been the pride of international socialism, in a bestial openly predatory war against the first socialist state, without serious opposition manifesting itself or being able to impede such aggression. A Marx or an Engels, a Bebel or a Liebknecht, were they living today, would be the first to recognize that this is an unparalleled new situation which the wheel of history has brought in Germany, a victory without limit for the moment of all the forces against which they fought and repeatedly warned, grown now to a hydra menacing the whole world, and requiring unparalleled new measures to deal with that menace.

WHILE we must assist to the utmost every sign of opposition in Germany (as indicated in the line of the Free Germany National Committee), while we must pay tribute to the heroism of every militant anti-fascist fighter in Germany, it is evident to all by the hard logic of experience that the fall of Hitler will now come primarily and directly as a result of the military blows from outside of the anti-fascist coalition, and not as a result of the superior strength of the internal workingclass and democratic forces inside Germany. These forces, we may be confident, will surge forward in the moment of defeat. But they will not have made the defeat. They will not yet have established their capacity to hold in check unaided those violent forces which were crushing them. This is the perspective which must be taken into account in determining the measures necessary following the defeat of Hitler-Germany.

What is the conclusion which inexorably follows from this perspective? The powerful, dangerous and tenacious forces of German reaction, militarism and Nazism, defeated from without, but not from within, will not at once disappear after military defeat. They have already made elaborate and formidable preparations for such a situation. They have further had the successful trial experience of 1918-33 in the methods of carrying forward their organization, even under conditions of supposed disarmament, illegality and democratic victory, in exploiting a confused internal situation and playing on international divisions, jealousies, and rivalries of the victors, or hostility of capitalism and socialism on the international plane, to rebuild their power and renew their aggression. While it would be premature

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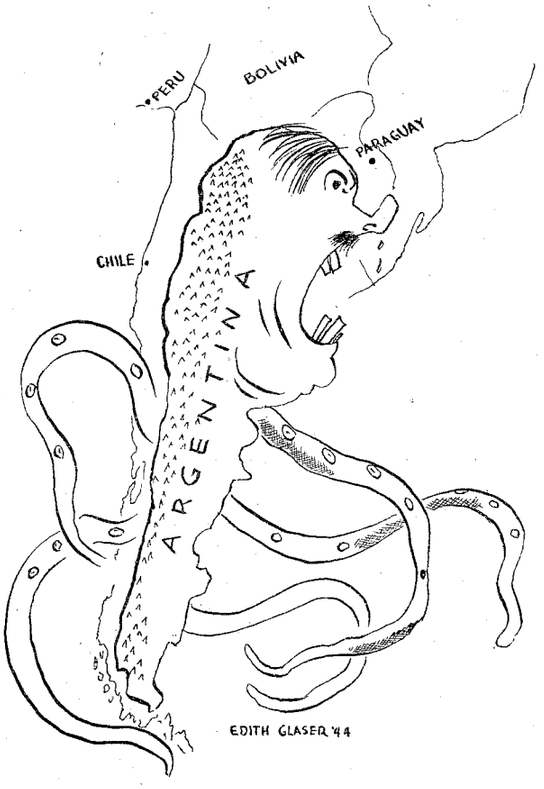
to endeavor to estimate the type of regime which may immediately succeed to the collapse of Hitler in Germany, it is evident that even an advanced democratic regime would at first be very weak and unstable, and that the workingclass and democratic elements will need time to build up their strength. During this period it would be fatal for the United Nations to base their calculations for the prevention of the renewal of German reactionary domination and military aggression solely on the internal strength of the German workingclass and democracy.

THESE are the concrete conditions of the fight against fascism which are entirely different in character from the period of the Versailles Treaty, when fascism had not yet come into existence. It is in the light of these considerations that the measures to be carried out in relation to Germany at the end of the war need to be judged. Therefore it is necessary to ensure that United Nations military occupation shall carry through and ensure the complete destruction of the German war machine, the dismantling of war material, the rooting out and extirpation of the Gestapo and Nazi gangs and secret military formations, and the execution of the terms of the settlement. Therefore it is necessary that the punishment of war criminals and destruction of fascist institutions cannot be simply left to the German people, but must be carried through under United Nations control and directly by the wronged peoples of Europe.

In the same way it is necessary that reparation, including labor reparation, for the loot and plunder and economic devastation of Europe be carried out, not merely as a measure of justice and retribution, but in order to ensure that German reaction and the industrialists behind fascism shall not, after military defeat, continue to profit from their plunder and carry forward in new forms their economic domination over an impoverished Europe. Equally it is necessary that whatever territorial changes are required, not merely to cancel Hitler's annexations, but to weaken the basis of Prussian domination in Germany and of the domination of Prussia-Germany over Europe, must be carried through in the vital interests of the security and self-determination of all the peoples of Europe who have been over-run by Germany, and thereby also in the interests of the democratic and peaceful development of the German people themselves; and that no arguments of local self-determination can be allowed to stand in the way of this, any more than the same arguments when used by Hitler in relation to the Sudeten Germans as a lever for undermining Czechoslovakia as the bastion of peace in Europe.

It is vital, and of life-and-death importance, that the entire labor movement and all democratic representatives shall be crystal-clear and determined on these issues, shall fight to ensure that these measures are carried out, and shall allow no maneuvers of the right to prevent their fulfillment.

But this is only the first step to complete and consolidate victory over fascism. It has been necessary to dwell first on this essential foundation, because it is the indispensable pre-condition of all the further aims of world organization, reconstruction, and international democratic collaboration. In much of current discussion in many quarters these wider aims of world organization are too often treated in an abstract fashion and separated from the stern tasks of the destruction of fascism. Hence the importance of emphasizing first and foremost at this moment these destructive tasks, which find expression today in the present battles, still to be carried through to completion.



GIVEN this foundation, the further questions of far wider scope press for attention, which are already outlined in existing decisions and are the subject of present negotiations—the building of the world association of democratic nations, of world security and cooperation for economic reconstruction and the raising of living standards. The problems of the methods and framework of international relations, to combine the freedom and equality of all nations, great and small, with the necessary organization of security on a basis of unified power capable of preventing new aggression, are now the subject of wide discussion and preliminary governmental exchanges. The success of any such measures for international political cooperation are inseparably bound up with the thorny problems of international economic cooperation, requiring to be realized in the new relations of world forces; in a world containing powerfully developed socialist and capitalist economic forms; in a world shrunken and drawn closer by modern technical development and speedier communications; in a world at once of enormously increased productive power, great inequalities of wealth and development in different countries, and urgent needs of the war-devastated countries and regions of backward technical development. Here the success of the International Money Conference at Bretton Woods is of good augury for the possibility of provisional working solutions, despite the sharp contradictions.

These problems, economic and political, are bound up with the necessity of tackling with a bold and fresh approach the issues of the colonial system; and in this connection Gandhi's recent offer affords a golden opportunity for a new beginning in India. Finally, it will be necessary to consider with a fresh approach the problems of the present political perspective in Britain, the path forward of the labor movement and of democratic development, and the method of accomplishment of the social and economic changes which are imperatively demanded by present conditions in this country, no less than by the rising popular consciousness of the need for changes.

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CUTBACKS TO PROSPERITY

By MARCEL SCHERER

Since Mr. Scherer wrote the following article, the Senate—through a coalition of Republicans and poll-tax Democrats—has adopted the George bill on reconversion. It is important, we believe, for our readers and the public generally, to realize that this was merely the first skirmish in the battle. The House of Representatives will now debate the merits of the Celler bill (the House version of the Kilgore measure), as against the House edition of the George measure.

We want to underscore one point in Mr. Scherer's article: that the Celler provisions are not for the benefit of labor alone. Involved is the well-being of the entire gamut of our nation's classes: the small businessmen, the professionals, big business, the farmers, as well as the workingman. For the Kilgore-Truman-Murray-Celler outlook seeks to establish the conditions for an economy of abundance—a perspective of higher purchasing power that will benefit all categories of our nation. It is the domestic counterpart of the Teheran agreement. The latter would establish a world of peace and conditions whereby foreign trade will be enhanced for all concerned: the Kilgore measure envisages a prospering home market. Together, we would effect the spiraling upward of our national economy. This is the precise opposite to the America foreseen by Mr. Dewey, who said last week: "I think everyone recognizes that there will be a very substantial reduction in production when the war is over—a very substantial one, over-all and nationally." This outlook is the basis for unemployment, and the 1944 version of Hoovervilles. Mr. Dewey failed to mention the human aspect of reconversion. He was quite satisfied that corporations will be guaranteed their full peacetime profits for two postwar years, through a tax refund in the "carry back" provision of the tax law. Some twenty-eight billions of the Treasury funds can be utilized for this purpose. Mr. Dewey's position indicates, with the present state unemployment "benefits," which range from two to fifteen dollars a week, for a brief period of some twenty weeks. It is this glaring discrepancy which the Kilgore measure would overcome—to the benefit of all classes. —The Editors.

THE battle of reconversion is on in full fury. The contending lines have been drawn in the Senate Chamber: they are sufficiently clear to the conscientious observer. On the one side, entrenched behind the Hoover Line, stand the dogged forces of anti-reconversion; their formidable war gear includes high-powered press and radio machinery seeking to impress America that they, too, favor adequate measures—but their record and platform condemn them as saboteurs. They are generalled by the old guard GOP bigwigs—like Senators Vandenberg and Taft and their faithful ally, Senator George, spokesman for the polltax hatchet-brigade. They raise the sinister standards the American people saw in Hoover depression years: their slogans stem from the philosophy of the Palo Alto sage.

On the people's side, entrenched behind the "Win-the-War and the Peace" line, are the genuine pro-reconversion forces. They are generalled, fortunately, by the unified command of Senators Kilgore and Murray, and the people's new field marshal, Senator Harry S. Truman. Their strategy grows out of Roosevelt's new Economic Bill of Rights and the Concord of Teheran. Their immediate objective is the passage of the Kilgore bill.

The stormiest part of the battle rages over the fundamental objectives of interim placement benefits, or increased unemployment insurance.

The attitude of the opponents of genuine unemployment compensation was revealed by Governor Dewey's spokesman, Milton O. Loysen, executive director of the Unemployment Compensation and Placement Division of the New York State Department of Labor. Mr. Loysen, testifying in the Senate against increased benefits, said: "I do not see any demonstrated need for it at this time or in the foreseeable future. This is not the time for making guarantees of doles to workers nor to set up the machinery for economic collapse. To put such contracts on the books now—and to make it last for two years or any other substantial period—would be an invitation to masses of people on the fringe of the labor market and to all the lazy-bones in the country to relax and to draw their rocking-chair money." This shameful concept has been stated in various terms by Senators Vandenberg, Taft, and others in the current debate in Washington: an insult to the millions of Americans, men and women, who left their homes, their chosen profession, their pre-war trades to add their bit to the immense requirements of all-out war production. And the insult is integral to the Dewey viewpoint on all the crucial issues before the common man.

If some feel that the statement of Director Loyson is but his personal opinion and not indicative of the opinion of the Republican Party or of their standard bearer, Dewey, let us examine the report of the Military Affairs Committee for August 3.

By a ten to seven vote, ten Democrats to seven Republicans, the Military Affairs Committee approved a version of the Kilgore bill jointly submitted by Senators Murray and Truman and supported by Senator Kilgore. The bill differs from the Kilgore bill in only two respects. It eliminates the provisions of the Kilgore bill dealing with the disposal of surpluses and amends the bill to include a requirement that the Secretary of Labor shall make a full study and investigation of the extent to which the adoption of an annual wage system would contribute to full employment and a rising standard of living.

The Republican members of the Military Affairs Committee sought desperately to prevent presentation of the bill. They attempted to separate the bill into small parts and then to attack and eliminate these segments. Sen. Warren R. Austin of Vermont, Republican, tried to persuade the Military Affairs Committee to take the question of unemployment compensation out of the body of the bill. Sen. Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia, Republican, attempted to eliminate the provisions for vocational education. Senator Austin led the fight against the bill's provisions to set up labor-industry-agriculture advisory councils. On one point after the other the Republicans stand exposed in their drive to hack at, to mutilate real comprehensive legislation for conversion. In the light of these facts the pious words of Thomas E. Dewey that the administration is not capable of handling the problem of industrial reconversion are brazen partisanship.

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The old argument of state's rights, used to attack every vital piece of federal legislation, is raised once again, this time as the chief campaign slogan of the Republican Party.

THE statement of policy adopted by the twenty-six Republican governors at their St. Louis conference said, unmistakably, that the administration of unemployment compensation must remain in the hands of the states. They are supported by the Republicans in the Senate. Our Republican Senators and their poll-tax allies are gratified by the George bill, supposed to deal with the problem of unemployment compensation, but which gives the workers nothing that they do not have now. Senator George has become the mentor of the Republicans. His bill would guarantee that the present inadequate standards of the various states would remain intact, but that the federal government would subsidize these funds, to the extent necessary to guarantee their solvency. This does nothing to change the situation where unemployment insurance benefits vary from two to twenty dollars a week and the maximum period ranges from twelve to twenty weeks in some states. All in the name of "states' rights."

When a worker left home to travel to another state to contribute to the war effort, he did not question the unemployment provisions of the state in which he was going to work. When the government built its huge war plants and requested that workers come from all over the country to man the production lines, they said nothing about the varying degree of benefits in the different states. The problem of war production is a national—a total—problem, developed and built upon a national program. The question of unemployment compensation cannot be left to the individual states, any more than the problem of fighting the war can be left to states' armies.

The Republicans are raising straw men in this issue of states' rights. The Kilgore bill and the new Murray-Truman-Kilgore version does not in any way seek to rob the rights of the states to administer the unemployment compensation funds. All it does is to set certain standards which are guaranteed by the use of federal funds.

Here is the much more important question—at what level should unemployment compensation be placed? Should unemployment compensation or interim placement benefits be limited to the low level of the present state systems? Or shall they be placed at about the level provided for in the Kilgore-Celler bill, which will provide a minimum standard of purchasing power to the people?

Mayor LaGuardia has given a fitting answer to this question in his testimony before the Military Affairs Committee: "Now the Kilgore bill recognizes its responsibilities and it provides frankly for unemployment compensation during a given period. Now, gentlemen, unless we do that what will happen? The men, the workers will go on the present unemployment compensation, which is not enough, in many instances, and not of sufficient duration. Then that reduces the purchasing power and other activities will be hit adding to the problem; and one day we will realize we are back to relief and WPA."

Everything must be done during the period of reconversion to maintain the highest level of the purchasing power of the unemployed war workers and the discharged servicemen. Even Senator George had to admit this fact in his report on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning: "What must replace the fifty billion dollars of direct war production upon which the economy of the country now rests is the purchasing power of the people."

ORDINARILY, unemployment benefits are aimed at assisting the individual. The Kilgore reconversion legislation points out that these emergency unemployment benefits should be aimed at assisting the entire economy. Clearly the problem of interim placement benefits is of national scope, and one that must depend upon a national policy. The benefits must be high enough so that the development of consumer goods production will not be retarded by a lack of purchasing power among the people. And last, but not least, it is beyond the ability of the individual states to cope with the problem themselves.

The New York *Herald Tribune* of August 1, 1944 had the following to say editorially: "If it were not obvious to the casual observer, we might cite the results of the various *Fortune* polls to show that the political issue which transcends all others this year is the assurance of jobs after the war."

On Nov. 7, 1944, all candidates must stand before the people and show what they have done to bring to life the economic bill of rights proposed by our Commander-in-Chief, President Roosevelt. We will examine them in the light of his foresight in ordering the Baruch-Hancock report, in encouraging Congress to pass a comprehensive program of reconversion legislation.

Where then do the opponents of the Kilgore bill stand? Their position is one of complete bankruptcy. In this entire discussion they have not made one constructive proposal. They have contributed nothing but delays and obstacles to the passage of a real legislative program embodying all aspects of the conversion problem. In spite of all their demagogic statements, the record is clear. Their opposition to a real program for reconversion is premeditated. They hope to win the votes of those disemployed as a result of the economic chaos flowing from their own activities. They play politics with the lives and jobs of sixty million workers and servicemen in this country.

For those in Congress who continue to block the reconversion program we need a special "Reconversion of Congress" plan. As a matter of fact the people have already started on this reconversion plan and it is being put into operation outside the halls of Congress. Certificates of availability have been issued by the people to Congressman Dies, Starnes, Costello, Kennedy, and others, together with Senators Cotton Ed Smith, Champ Clark, etc.

The public must pursue a wise policy in reconverting Congress itself from a do-nothing and divided Congress that will fight for speedy victory and a people's peace. In this reconversion we can also do some converting. We can convert all honest but confused or hesitating win-the-war Congressmen to a fuller appreciation of the merits of the Kilgore-Celler bill and to all the other measures needed to insure a full employment, full production economy.

The Kilgore-Celler bill is only one step in the direction of a full economy. Other steps will have to provide increased purchasing power to American workers and an expanded foreign trade. Passing a bill for reconversion machinery is the first step. Then comes the all-important question of who will administer such machinery. Then the need for implementing this legislation. The reconversion issue will not be settled by any one vote, no matter how overwhelming. All of these and related questions will need bold and consistent leadership. And Congress should be filled with men who will uphold the hand of President Roosevelt and help him steer us in the critical days ahead to a full and complete victory.

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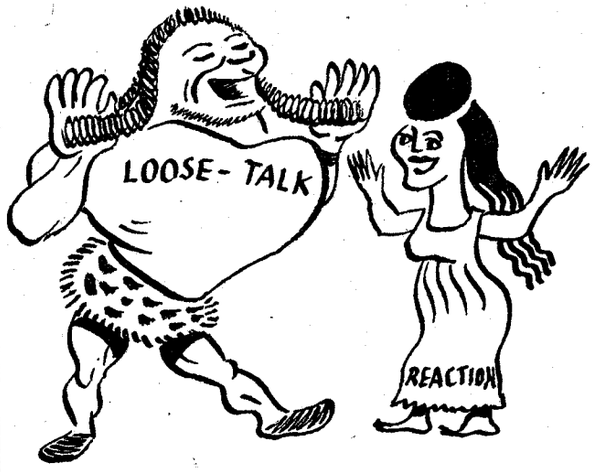
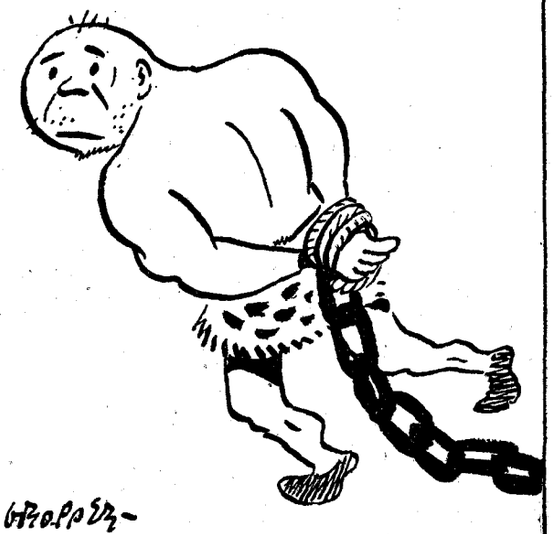
ALTHOUGH SAMSON WAS ONE OF THE STRONGEST MEN IN THE WORLD —

— HE WAS CARELESS ABOUT HIS SECRETS AND HIS COMPANY —



— ONE DAY, THE DAME HE HAD TRUSTED, BETRAYED HIM —

AND WHAT CAME NEXT, SHOULDN'T HAPPEN TO A DOG!



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NEWSPAPER MEN'S DECISION

By CHRIS MAGNUSSEN

THE Eleventh Annual Convention of the American Newspaper Guild, held last week in Milwaukee, gave new strength to the American labor movement—and in so doing made solid contributions toward the permanent defeat of fascism and the building of a better world.

It must be stated at the outset that the Guild "could" have done more, but it must also be recognized that such forces were at work that it "could" have done a great deal less. Adding up all the achievements—and subtracting all the failures—it was the most successful convention in Guild history. That fact has a significance for American society that should not be underestimated. Though the Guild is one of the smaller unions in the CIO, its approach to the problems of the day has special significance. Three reasons for this may be cited: One is the fact that the Guild is composed almost wholly of white-collar workers. Another is the fact that an enormous range of incomes exists among the members, some earning only sixteen dollars per week, while many receive more than $100. Finally, a forward-looking attitude taken by the Guild would mean that the dilletante approach of some of its founders (not Heywood Broun I hasten to say) who named it a "guild" instead of a union, who regarded it as a "press club," or a "professional association," had been eliminated.

If such an organization can have real unity, and maintain that unity in a genuinely progressive program, with a minimum of compromise to placate the "special interests" of craft groups, would-be "professionals," etc. — the prospect is bright for the unity and progress of America as a whole. What that means for the fulfillment of our nation's war and peace objectives need not be spelled out.

The 137 delegates who gathered in Milwaukee on August 7 represented a great variety of viewpoints. They included a handful who spoke bluntly for reaction. The delegates came from fifty-two of the Guild's seventy-nine locals. Some of them were instructed along progressive lines. Some were instructed to vote for reactionary policies on some matters. Most of the delegates had been trusted by the membership of their locals to vote for the good of the union, without detailed instructions.

The New York Guild sent twenty-five delegates, entitled to cast fifty of the convention's 235 votes. These delegates were elected by a three to one vote, because the membership knew them to be politically active, militant, and efficient trade unionists. The membership instructed them to support progressive policies at the convention. Other delegations were of like character, particularly those from Los Angeles, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Cleveland. Ordinarily, this would appear to give complete assurance that the handful of reactionaries would be routed.

However, these forward-looking delegates came to the convention under a serious handicap. During the year, and for two years before that, Wilbur Baldinger, editor of the *Guild Reporter*, had worked hard to discredit and misrepresent progressives throughout the Guild. In the 1943 convention at Boston, efforts of factionalists to isolate and render impotent the vanguard of the Guild had achieved partial success.

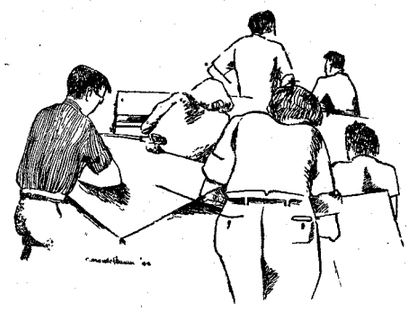
THERE appeared to be grounds for pessimism—but these are the things the convention voted for:

"That all-out, active support be given to elect President Roosevelt and Senator Truman."

"That locals and units cooperate fully with the CIO-PAC."

"That locals aid in campaigns to get everyone eligible registered to vote, and later to get out the vote, with emphasis on getting ballots to servicemen."

"That political activities on the precinct level include doorbell pushing, visiting with families and discussing campaign issues."



R. Mandelbaum

"That locals encourage participation in community enterprises, such as nurseries for working mothers, OPA, WMC, and WLB personnel participation, and groups to educate people against race, creed, or color—social, economic or in any other form of bigoted intolerance."

"That locals support the recommendation of Sidney Hillman for a one dollar voluntary contribution from each member, of which fifty cents will go to the National Citizens Political Action Committee and fifty cents will remain in the local Political Action Fund."

"That locals seek radio time at regular intervals to carry on the educational campaign laid down by the PAC."

In adopting a committee report on postwar planning, the convention recognized the vital necessity for national and international unity and the need for cooperation of every group in the nation to provide for a postwar world of full employment and full production; the need for conversion and full utilization of war production facilities; the obligation of labor, and explicitly of the Guild, to fight discrimination of any kind.

The convention voted support for the CIO postwar program, and made specific applications of it to the industry, providing for a national placement bureau to aid in the employment problems which will follow demobilization; providing changes in the Guild constitution which will waive reinstatement and initiation fees for servicemen; providing for experience credit, toward length of service stepups and severance pay, for time spent in service, etc.

The convention also recommended establishment of a thirty-hour basic work week.

On intra-union organizational issues, the convention defeated several proposals which would have had the effect of "federalizing" locals and extending central domination over them. In its collective bargaining report, the convention resisted efforts made to discredit the War Labor Board, but sharply demanded improvements, greater speed, and greater impartiality in the functioning of the WLB Newspaper Commission.

Labor's no-strike pledge was unanimously reaffirmed, without debate. This marked a distinct advance over the year

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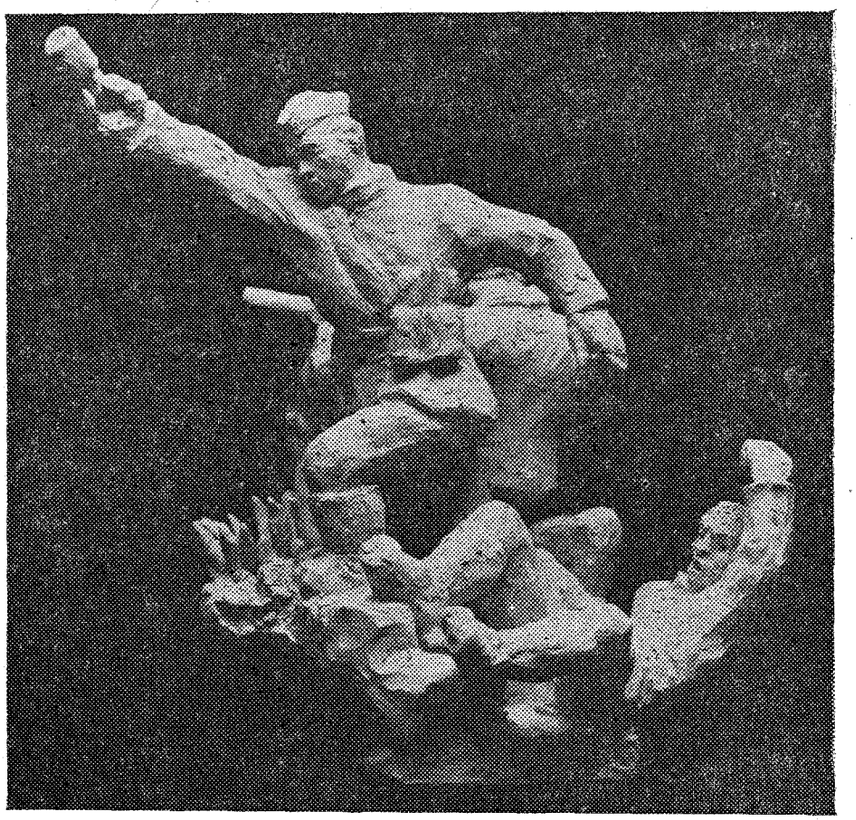
before, when an obscene debate, cloaked by an executive session, was imposed on the Boston convention by those who sought to break faith with the nation by nullifying the pledge. Another significant victory for unity was in a mild-mannered, but firm order from the convention to the editor of the *Guild Reporter* to cease the use of "certain terminology" which smeared and Red-baited progressive locals and personages in the Guild. With particular reference to a regular column contributed by James Wechsler of *PM*, the editor was reminded there should be no "must" designations on any copy.

It was especially noteworthy, at this convention, that even the most determined reactionaries recognized the futility of Red-baiting as a means for winning support. With the single exception of a speech by Morris Ernst, pseudo-liberal special counsel for the Guild, on his version of "a free press," the public sessions were undefiled by this dirty device. As for Ernst, he commented only that he differed with "fascist and Communist" ideas of "state domination" of the press. This, from an attorney who was hired by the New York *Post* to fight the Guild's attempt to reinstate Rollin Kirby, noted cartoonist, came as no great surprise.



"Stalingrad," terra cotta by Nat Werner

On the negative side, there were few things to regret. One was the success of the IEB's plan to disestablish the Women's Auxiliary as a national organization. The previous year, a small organizing subsidy had been withdrawn. Largely in consequence of this lack of cooperation the Auxiliary's organizing activities were admittedly unsatisfactory. Instead of offering necessary aid, the parent organization killed it.

Debate on the support-Roosevelt resolution descended to a low level in one or two cases when delegates were found arguing that the Guild's endorsement, or in fact, any labor endorsement, "would do more harm than it would good." Out of such debate came an unnecessary clause in the resolution that "We recognize the autonomous right of each local to determine its own course of political action, and the right of every individual in the Guild to vote as his conscience dictates."

This dilution, however, lacked force, because President Milton Murray, in a strong opening speech, clearly stated the obligation of union leaders to put themselves in the vanguard of the fight to reelect the President. Murray defined Dewey as the "Little Sir Echo" of Hoover, and said the Guild should have none of him. Dozens of delegates, on the floor and in committee, repeated the same urgent note, forcing *every* opponent of the endorsement into the position of saying, "I am for Roosevelt, but. . . ."

Highly significant for the whole future of the Guild was the fact that on the vote to endorse the Roosevelt-Truman ticket old factional lines dissolved. The New York delegates for example, found themselves voting with those from Washington and Cleveland with whom on past occasions they have sharply differed. It was fitting that President Roosevelt, the symbol of national unity, should have been the means of furthering unity within the organization of newspapermen.

Probably the most disappointing of the few defeats suffered by those who would build the Guild into a strong and unified force was in the rejection of a bold organizing program, designed to more than double the present membership of some 20,000. Particularly regrettable was the fact that President Murray misconstrued the organizing proposal as an attack on his entire administration and spoke against it. The Murray speech aided in the defeat of the organizing plan, but it failed to expunge the plan from the record, where it remains as a yardstick for the success of present officers in expanding the Guild. We can be sure, in other words, that the Guild will remove any obstacles that stand in the way of its growth.

American labor and the American people can be proud of the Newspaper Guild—and can be justly hopeful about the increasing integration of white-collar workers into the organized labor movement and into the vast amalgam of anti-fascist forces, who know a better world of domestic and international brotherhood is on the way. Those who fought for that progress won their fight, because they stuck to issues and never allowed themselves to be enticed into the exciting but unproductive by-paths of factional dispute. What they can do, can and will be done, again and again, in the Guild, in the rest of labor, and in the nation itself.

More "could" have been done—but so "could" less have been done. More yet will be done as factionalists, Red-baiters and adventurers are exposed and isolated—and as those impatient souls who expect history to "happen suddenly" buckle down to the job of making history happen.

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WALTER LIPPMANN'S WAR AIMS

By JOHN STUART

OF THE country's major publicists few have as solid a reputation for productive thinking as Walter Lippmann. Particularly in the last three years his columns on international affairs have debated large issues and whether they dealt with Poland or the problems besetting coalition warfare, much of what he has written served a useful purpose. They have helped congeal opinion behind a policy of friendship among the United Nations and have given Lippmann's many readers some sense of the interplay of political forces. His book *U.S. Foreign Policy*, published last year, coming as it did from a conservative source, was so attuned to the times that it won a large body of friends, especially in upper circles. In his central thesis of "nuclear alliance," he articulated for them much of what they had already been thinking.

His new book however, is a letdown.* It is a sad little book occupied in several places with solemn platitudes and delivered in the manner of the prophet talking from the mountaintop. But this is Mr. Lippmann's way. He compounds logic with a frigid temperament on the rather shaky premise that warmth of style will hurt his tract. And his tract, even if it possesses all the rigorous exercises of the logician, is a lifeless thing many steps removed from the tides and conflicts of our time. This may be a strange thing to say about a book that pretends at the very least to deal with current affairs on a universal scale. I cannot, however, help making this observation. I would make it about any blueprint or mechanism which represents an absolutist dream in a world where absolutes never survive the swordpoint of reality.

Even the book's title, *U.S. War Aims*, is presumptuous. It assumes for itself an official stamp. Yet these are only Mr. Lippmann's war aims. They cannot be the nation's unless under the spell of an astronomer's vocabulary we have suddenly begun to conceive of the organization of postwar power in the celestial language of orbits, satellites, and planets. Nor does Mr. Lippmann's thought have even the virtue of the astronomer's science. It is more, it seems to me, a chaotic blend of the geopolitician's alchemy with a conception of the national interest as something which must be shielded from the interests of the world as a whole. In consequence it becomes neo-isolationist, for under the guise of an international community it would set us at the head of a geographical array of states counterposed against other combinations. And should any leading member seek friendship and alliance with a member of another "strategical system," then Mr. Lippmann threatens war as casually as he promises peace if every state adheres to his blueprint.

This to me is the elevation of the schema of *cordon sanitaire* to global proportions. And I am not in the least surprised that Mr. Lippmann after describing his orbits and his Atlantic Community should turn savagely on his former tutor, Woodrow Wilson, and sing a quaint hosanna to Georges Clemenceau. For it was Clemenceau who propagated the idea of a wall of states in Europe around the Soviet Union and it is Mr. Lippmann, knowingly or otherwise, who now divides the world with the same deftness. He takes the atlas and pencils over it four large groupings which he labels orbits and communities. There is the Atlantic Community consolidated by the United States and comprised of Pan-America, the British Commonwealth and Empire, France and her empire, Belgium, the Netherlands and their colonies, Luxembourg, Norway, and Iceland in addition to Sweden, Eire, Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. The second community or orbit is the Russian, which includes within it "the states east of Germany and west of the Soviet Union." China is the center of a third system embracing the whole mainland of eastern Asia and circumscribed by the frontiers of the USSR and of India. And then in the future there would be Hindu and Moslem aggregates of the nations of North Africa, the Middle East and southern Asia.

Thus would Mr. Lippmann partition the world, with some sections of it suspended somewhere in oblivion. But if those sections are blurred from the picture, and in a parenthesis I add that their inhabitants might well be thankful for his oversight, he is precise about the destiny of Germany. And it is at this point that Lippmann's delicate constructions begin to show their flaws. In his treatment of the settlement with Germany he begins cautiously with the suggestion that after she is rendered harmless Germany cannot remain in an economic or political vacuum and must, therefore, be brought into some orbit and that orbit is "the oceanic international exchange economy." This is the code phrase—or better still the geopolitical mumbo-jumbo—for the Atlantic Community economic sphere which the United States controls. And after having made that declaration, Lippmann throws his wary phrases to the winds and states bluntly that the Atlantic or Western Community will come to include Germany "and perhaps all of Europe to the borders of the Soviet Union."

I cannot interpret this conclusion in any other way than to state with equal bluntness that this, as I have already indicated, is the spirit of Clemenceau tapping on Lippmann's typewriter. Not only is Germany, the historical center of European aggression with its enormous industrial power, brought under the domination of the United States, but the Russian orbit in the end is no orbit at all because Lippmann finally carves away the eastern European states and brings them along with Germany into his privately conceived "Atlantic world," his privately run oceans. In other words, the Soviet Union is at the close of the Lippmann logic hemmed around by the Atlantic Community and the Chinese and Hindu-Moslem aggregates as well since these latter two will for some time to come be dependent on the credit of the Atlantic Community and will act in unison with it to make the global *cordon sanitaire* complete.

AM I stretching a point? Am I imputing motives to Lippmann which are farthest from his mind? Perhaps. But there is so much internal evidence in this book which supports my worst suspicions that I cannot help lifting it to the surface if only to warn the reader who may be impressed by Lippmann's glacial solemnity and his icy logic, that his is a dangerous tract.

For one thing I am dismayed by Lippmann's moralisms about the USSR.

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* U.S. WAR AIMS, *by Walter Lippmann. Little, Brown. $1.50.*

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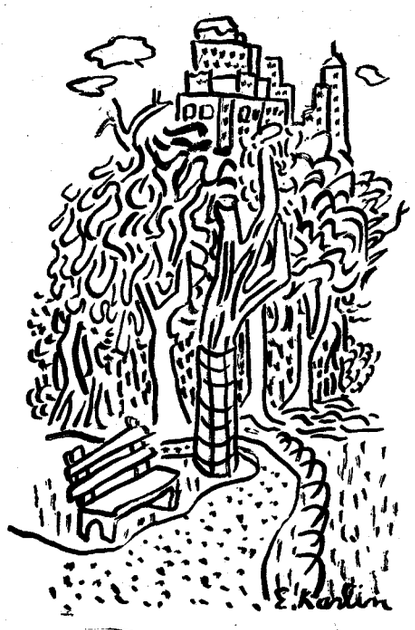
They are pompous and childish and in keeping with his Sunday school mood. In his role as the public instructor in political morals, he can labor a homily to death. But what I am largely concerned with is that he delimits the position of the Soviet Union in world affairs and by so doing impedes a genuine and fuller understanding of what our real national interests are in relation to the USSR. For example, he writes that "the Soviet Union's relations with the United States, and indeed with all other European and American countries, are beset by profound contradictions which inhibit confident collaboration." This is, of course, a pure Lippmannesque grotesquery and is of a piece with his refusal in this book to think of the USSR as an equal with us. For if he did there would be no need for him to elaborate such projects as the Atlantic Community in which is concentrated the industrial wealth of the world and all which that implies in terms of military strength.

As I understand it the Atlantic Community is designed in the first place to secure peace. But attempts to secure peace are not aimless; they are directed at something and that something is to curb potential aggression and to prevent Germany from ever again attaining the status of menace, or to play the power politics that culminated in the Munich agreement. If the impetus for creating an Atlantic Community is to keep Germany a peaceful nation, by all human reason the Soviet Union must also be a member of that Community. Need we again reiterate the rudimentary principle that without a permanent alliance of the United States, Great Britain, and the USSR there can be no safeguard against renewed German rapacity? This alliance is the focus of any community on a world scale that is realistic and rewarding and any community which Lippmann proposes that does not include the USSR is the prelude to another political fiasco ending in a Niagara of blood and tears throughout Europe. Moreover, the conclusion is inevitable that all those European states which Lippmann places in his Atlantic Community, thereby divorcing them from contact with the Soviet Union, are weakened and their effectiveness in maintaining a stable and peaceful continent impaired.

The Atlantic Community is a fantasy, because in the face of German aggression it is a weak and piddling thing—it excludes the strongest military land machine, the Red Army, and the government which directs it. It is weak in the same sense that protection of the Western Hemisphere would be weak if the United States were omitted from the defense of the Americas. And the concern of the USSR in the attitude of the European nations embraced by Lippmann's Atlantic Community is exactly that which the United States also displays. This is not to deny that both the US and the USSR have areas of special interest, but these in no way contradict a community of interest in safeguarding world peace. Yet Lippmann with his geopolitical artifices would fence the largest part of the globe with barriers in order that the Soviet Union in effect be quarantined. One need only put the shoe on the other foot to see how hard it pinches and how utterly irrational such systems as orbits really are.

LIPPMANN's knitting of a giant *cordon sanitaire* is but preliminary to getting down to a series of threats against Moscow before he severs diplomatic relations with it. He does not, of course, actually recommend that but his attitude is so perverse that rapprochement, as he conceives it, hangs by the thinnest of threads. In his earlier book *U.S. Foreign Policy*, he castigated those who permit ideological difference to distort American relations with the USSR. In this book he has relinquished that tenet and makes policy with the Soviets conditional on their acceptance of Lippmann's private definition of democracy. "We owe it to the Soviet people to say," he writes, "that however correct may be our diplomatic relations, they will not really be the good relations they need to be until the basic political and human liberties are established in the Soviet Union. Only then will there be full confidence, and a free intercourse on a basis of full equality." Then in a high pitch of moral fervor Lippmann implies that the USSR should take a hand in the suppression of the Communist movements that exist in the states comprising his Atlantic Community. So here again is a partitioning of the world between Communist and non-Communist sectors with the latter ringed around the former. In addition there is the indirect ultimatum that unless the Soviet Republics adopt our social and political system, or at the very least reconvert, let us say, to the model set up in Lippmann's bad book, *The Good Society*, relations are hopeless. The most we can expect is an improvised and accidental diplomacy "of checks and counter-checks."



I shall not say that this is colossal cheek. This is in effect a reversion to the conduct of foreign affairs as practiced under the three consecutive administrations of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. They at least had the virtue of no pretense, no flumdummery of Atlantic communities. They simply made it a central goal of policy to bedevil the USSR with all the apparatus and devices which Dr. Goebbels later perfected in the machinery of political warfare.

But more, Lippmann is not merely delineating what the conditions of America's attitude toward the USSR should be. He is here implicitly warning the entire Atlantic Community of forty-two states that they too must accept his conditions or suffer his hostility. Thus if all these provisos were to be translated into terms of official policy, operating on the premise that the Soviet Union is a totalitarian state, we should be hurled back exactly to that stage of our diplomatic history in which the German aggressor was the sole beneficiary. In no time also would the Atlantic Community be at loggerheads with the so-called Russian orbit and the Atlantic Community itself would become a cauldron of antagonisms. If, as Donald Nelson, the head of the War Production Board, recently noted, the close of the war may witness the birth of "one or more socialist countries," then within the Lippmann calculus they too will be subject to the demand that they regress to his conception of human liberty or feel the mighty hand of the top boss, the United

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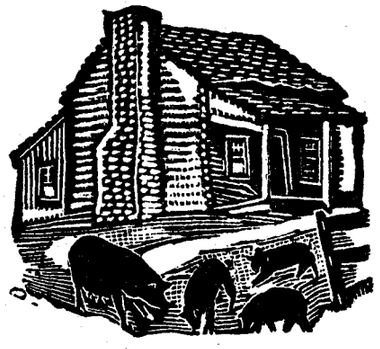
States. Not only cannot the forty-two states break the bounds of the Lippmann blueprint in ordering their foreign affairs, but he restricts their sovereignty by telling them with whom they can fashion military agreements, what their attitude towards the USSR must be, and so forth. In fact all their essential prerogatives are denied them for the fantastic reason that their destinies are guaranteed by geography.

The implications of Lippmann's plan are far reaching. I am not at all surprised that there is enough logic in Lippmann's thinking to drive him to the point of denouncing the principle of self-determination although he connects it with Wilson's doctrine which he now repudiates with considerable *elan*. No project such as he envisages can tolerate self-determination of peoples because the decisions that come out of the practice of that right may be totally at odds with the business of Atlantic Community or orbits—unless of course you plan to use force and violence to make states change their minds. In that event, America's national interest, which at a minimum is global peace, would be betrayed by having to clash with countries refusing to abide by Lippmann's edicts.

Furthermore, by denying countries the right of self-determination, Lippmann would set obstacles in the way of their internal progress. By implying, for example, that the Communist movements must be obliterated Lippmann not only reaffirms the nonsense of a Soviet Union manipulating the policy of other governments through foreign agents, but he is saying that those Communist forces of Europe which helped in its liberation can have no place in Europe's future. In the case of Yugoslavia, the Communists headed by Marshal Tito would have to jump into the Adriatic even though Mr. Churchill thinks they have done a good job. In the case of France, General De Gaulle would have to obey the Lippmann command by dismissing the two Communist representatives from the provisional government. So for Italy or any other European state where the Communists are the muscle of the labor movement and therefore play a not inconsiderable part in national life. And without having defined what a Communist is, Lippmann's reconnaissance squads would in time eliminate anyone who prefers the sovereignty of his country to the sanctity of the Lippmann principle.

How is it that Mr. Lippmann took a long step forward in projecting his nuclear alliance last year and this year takes a long step backward by his design for a new constellation of powers? My own explanation lies in the context of events in which both books were written. The first book, *U.S. Foreign Policy*, was predicated on the urgency of a firm alliance of the three powers to win the



"Razorbacks," woodcut by Helen West Heller

war. It was the only political strategy for victory at a time when the war's end was not forseeable, its outcome uncertain. Talk then of the peace settlement and the character of world organization was at very best a parlor game between contending Messiahs. It was a pleasurable diversion in which no one need take responsibility for anything so long as he believed in the fruitfulness of nuclear power. And Mr. Lippmann for the most part rightly denied himself in his earlier book the titillations that come from steering the future over a glass of beer. In the background there were also those forces in our national life who were not ready to reveal with exactitude the several plans that hovered in the recesses of their minds. As long as Germany still menaced their security, their economic position, such talk in effect helped the aggressor by raising doubts in Soviet minds as to the intentions of leading circles among her allies. Among these groups, then, silence and restraint were the better part of military virtue, and let us not for a moment forget that they did and do believe in the virtues of the Red Army.

But now the great transformation is taking place. There is no uncertainty about the war's outcome. Both Mr. Lippmann's disciples and his mentors can speak their minds, they can assert themselves with bravado. They feel their oats again. They see the vast power that has accumulated to them during the war years and they are describing the political forms in which this power is to be wrapped and delivered to the world. All their latent imperialist ambitions are beginning to throb and quiver before the rich prospects of peaceful aggrandizement and for that they need the kind of international organization in which their power is the solar center. If this is true, then the reasons for projecting an Atlantic Community are immediately clear. For it is only in such a vast vehicle that American power can ride without the discomforts of crowding the front seat with the other great allies.

I do not at all mean to say that Mr. Lippmann is another Colonel McCormick. McCormick is a fascist. Lippmann is an anti-fascist. No one can read what is in my opinion the best chapter of his book, Chapter V, and gain any other impression. There he marshals logic with devastating effect on the fire-eating isolationists and examines with care "the peril into which we drifted" because of the shortsighted foreign policy of the past. He writes that "without Britain, without Russia, and without China, we should now face alone the joint power of the two most formidable conquering empires which have been established within striking distance of the United States." From his own premises, he shows how we can never be "the friends of a regime like that of Wang Ching-wei, or of Petain-Laval, and in the end we must become the partisans of the patriot forces."

All this in its pure substance is Lippmann at his best—the proponent of the nuclear alliance who despises fascism and its quislings. As an internationalist, however, he makes all those impeding reservations which distort his perspective. To point up my charge, I recall a recent column of his in the New York *Herald Tribune* on the Bretton Woods conference. Almost all the value he could see in this historic meeting was that it provided an agency for the exchange of information. Mind you, he did not attack it as did McCormick's editorialists. But he was not enthusiastic when he should have been. With that attitude he did not help in molding a public opinion for a genuine internationalism.

Nor is Lippmann another Hoover. Hoover is an arch tory with such blind hatred for the Soviet Union that he would rather lose the war than see the German menace completely obliterated and thereby prevented from ever again threatening the USSR. No, Lippmann reflects and articulates all those fine nuances of thought, all that ideology of a more mature and cautious capitalism which knows that it cannot make head-

(*Continued on page* 30)

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THUNDER IN THE CARPATHIANS

By LENKA REINER

GENERAL SVOBODA, commanding the Czechoslovak Brigade fighting with the Red Army, recently wired to President Benes in London the following message: "We have hoisted the Czechoslovak flag on the peak of our Carpathians." After five years of exile, Czechoslovak troops are again treading their native soil. The news that the first army with weapons in its hands has returned home to drive the enemy from its native soil has traveled to the far corners of the earth. Czechoslovaks in Chungking and Stockholm, in Chicago and Capetown — wherever exile has driven them—are stirred beyond words. Going home is no longer a dream: over the Carpathians a flag is flying, the blue-white-red of the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

The last time I visited the Carpatho-Ukraine was in the spring of 1939. In Hust, the blue-white flag of the "Autonomous Carpathian Republic" flew from the "Government Building." Hitler had torn away huge chunks of Bohemia and Moravia; the Poles had penetrated the Teschen area; and the Hungarians had entered the eastern region of the Republic.

Hust, the youngest capital in the world, was attracting the worried attention of anti-fascists the world over, as it became the center of activity of White Russian emigres and German Gestapo agents. On the streets of this strange capital one sank ankle-deep in mud. Pigs wallowed in the mire, oxcarts made way for the lumbering Czechoslovak army trucks which had rushed to defend the border against the Hungarians and which now, after the collapse, were awaiting orders to demobilize. The street lighting was primitive. But in the town's two hotels there were English, American, Swedish, French, German, Italian, and Japanese journalists. For here in Hust, so the rumor ran, the attack on the Soviet Union would be prepared: the "liberation" of Soviet Ukraine.

Overnight a local variety of storm troopers, the Sich troopers, were organized. Their uniforms consisted of blue-gray jackets and pants, high black boots, and side-daggers with swastikas carved on the handle. These daggers were gifts from the Hitler Youth of Vienna. Berlin furnished military instructors. Sich, it was explained, was the name of an island in the Black Sea on which a group of cadets had fought bitterly against the Bolsheviks during the 1917 Revolution. The Carpatho-Ukrainian storm troopers had adopted the name in their honor. What was the aim of the Sich troopers? To maintain law and order, we were told, and to provide national enlightenment.

At night, flames arose against the sky from one of the snow-capped peaks. Then the people in Hust knew that the Sich troopers had visited a village which had not yet accepted the "new order." And the body of a murdered Jew would be found, a swastika traced in the snow next to his corpse.

The head of the new government was a priest, Monsignor Volosin. His house was guarded by a policeman, and to visit him it was necessary to have a pass from the Propaganda Minister, a former Social Democratic deputy in the Czechoslovakian Parliament. During my several weeks' stay no one received a pass. The Prime Minister was ill, we were informed. One day, however, we succeeded in getting into the Monsignor's house without a pass. We were warmly greeted. For weeks the head of the government had spoken to no one except his aged sister and a couple of orphan children he had taken into the house. To be sure, he had excellent ministers who managed affairs quite efficiently so that naturally he agreed with all the measures they took—and yet he felt very lonely. He invited us to come again. And when he heard that we represented American newspapers he seemed pleased. In America, he said, the cause of "an independent Ukraine" had many friends who sent over money and even furnished their own propaganda material. No, he couldn't remember any names, he was an old man with many worries on his mind, but there were many influential people in the United States, he insisted, who were working for the liberation of the Ukraine.

One day, the adherence of the Carpatho-Ukraine to the anti-Comintern pact was celebrated with a great deal of music and very few spectators. In the hotel where I was staying, a large crowd from the German UFA Film Company arrived, their suitcases covered with stickers labeled "German Embassy, Prague." I decided to leave Hust and visit some of the villages.

In the past few weeks the name of Jasina, the easternmost town in Czechoslovakia, has received some prominence in the world press. Soon names like Rachov, Svaljava, Kolocava, and Volove will also become familiar. The Red Army and the soldiers of General Svoboda will capture these towns, *recapture* them for the Czechoslovakian Republic. Many women will name the names of German, Rumanian, and Hungarian criminals. And many men will come down from the mountains with their rifles to see that justice is done.

IN MY flight from France in 1940, I lost my notes, so I can name no names. But many people have remained in my memory. Some because of their courage, others because of their bestialities. I remember clearly, for example, a peaceful old lady who had lived for twenty-five years in the United States, and had returned to Rachov after her husband's death. She remarried. Her husband was a court clerk, but during the upheaval in the Carpatho-Ukraine he made use of his wife's American savings to advance quickly. He became a county judge, condemning many Czechs and Jews to death. His wife longed to be back in America.

At a graduation dance in Rachov in February 1939, I made the acquaintance of the principal of the Czech high school which had been evacuated from Uzhorod after that town was occupied by the Hungarians, to Rachov. He glowed with pride as he told me that during the Russian Revolution he had belonged to a special Whiteguard unit which attacked Soviet villages by night, slaughtering the inhabitants and setting fire to their huts. And he openly admitted that he hated the Czech pupils in his school.

High in the Carpathians lie the villages of Kralova Czorna and Ruska Czorna. Maria Theresa had settled a few woodcutters' families there to exploit the forest resources of the mountains. The mother tongue of these settlers was German. Their villages too were German: instead of round straw-thatched huts and an Orthodox church with an onion shaped tower, they had slender square clocktowers on their

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"War News," oil by Minna Citron.

church, and in its nave, in a glass case, the faded blue-green silken banner which the founders of the village had brought with them. Monday at dawn the woodcutters went off to work and did not return until Saturday evening. They rode up the mountains in open trains, and as the locomotive laboriously climbed the heights, a rain of sparks singed the men's beards and burned holes in their clothing. The milk in the cans froze on their journey out. So did their bread and potatoes, provisions for a whole week. The woodcutters' wages were shockingly low. Then one day countrymen came from Hitler's Reich. I saw them, young lads in bright-colored hunter's costumes. They brought with them a few yards of cardboard paper and nailed it over the top of the woodcutters' open trains. The latter, forgetting that the new roofs would collapse at the first snowfall, responded to this act of generosity; and every evening their wives listened to the voluble visitors who promised so much. So it came about that in most of these village huts we were greeted with "Heil Hitler!"

In Jasina I attended a meeting called by the Sich. The tavern was overcrowded and smoky. Peasants sat on narrow wooden benches in white sheepskin coats, their feet in felt boots, stiff caps or gaily colored kerchiefs on their heads. The air was thick with pipe smoke. Carpatho-Ukrainian huts have no chimneys, the smoke disappearing through cracks in the thatched roof.

Beneath the ikon in the foreground stood a bespectacled man in a blue-gray uniform. He spoke over an hour about the absolute necessity of getting the Soviet Ukraine away from the USSR and annexing it to the Carpatho-Ukraine. His listeners grew impatient, coughing and stamping with their feet. He ended with the following words. . . . "And now, my dear friends, ask me any questions you would like to hear answered." For a time there was silence. Then a little man with a wiry beard got up. "Which Ukraine is bigger," he asked, "ours or theirs?" The speaker answered, "The Soviet Ukraine is much larger and precisely for that reason. . . ."

"All right, then," the peasant interrupted, "for my part, let the two countries come together. But if our piece is smaller, wouldn't it be more practical for us to ask the Soviets to annex us?" In Svaljava I arrived just at the close of a propaganda meeting. The main speaker was a tall, thin gentleman, formerly a Czarist officer, his breast covered with decorations. It was an open air meeting. The peasants, shepherds, and woodcutters had come, as was the custom in this region, with red flags and church banners. They had been ordered to put away the red flags at once. Now they were walking silently home. The organizers of the meeting remained on the square congratulating each other on their great success. Suddenly a loud cry rang out from the mountains. "Da zdravstvuyet Stalin! Da zdravstvuyet Benes!—Long live Stalin! Long live Benes! Long live a free Czechoslovakia!" And many people stood beside their huts on the mountainside holding aloft their church banners and unfurling their red flags.

In Hust a bearded Jew with a caftan showed me to a dilapidated house on a dark street. "Here, with God's will, you will find your friend." When I knocked at the door it was only slightly opened. An elderly woman shuffled out and asked me what I wanted. I gave the password and was allowed to enter.

"You can come in, Oleska," the woman called out to a youngish man with dark hair and lively dark eyes. He stepped into the light of the kerosene lamp. "So you've come! Since we learned that you were in Hust, I've been waiting for you." Oleska Borkanuk, before Munich a Communist deputy in the Czech parliament in Prague and now leader of the underground movement in the Carpatho-Ukraine, shook my hand. We sat down at the table, the old woman poured tea from a samovar, and Oleksa told me how the resistance movement was organized. The peasants distrusted the new regime. They were waiting. The workers and woodcutters were openly opposed. Only a small group of civil servants and merchants were satisfied with the turn of events. Business had picked up somewhat, due to the influx of foreigners. And many civil servants had been promoted to high posts overnight. Even Borkanuk had been told that he could get a good job if he changed his views. Meanwhile, the Sich troopers were out looking for him.

"Do you intend to remain here," I asked. He nodded. "Where else should I go? My people are here, my work is here."

A FEW weeks ago came the news that a Hungarian military court had condemned Oleska Borkanuk to death by hanging for high treason. With him, many peasants and workers of the Carpatho-Ukraine had fallen before German and Rumanian bullets or had been strung up on Hungarian gallows. But their wives and children have forgotten nothing. Fighting in the ranks of General Svoboda's brigade is the murdered Oleska Borkanuk's widow.

In the smoky huts of the Carpathians old muskets are being oiled, axes are being sharpened. Through the forests, from mountain to mountain, the cry rings out: "Our boys are coming! The Red Army and our boys are near!"

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READERS' FORUM

Listen, Messrs. Professors

TO NEW MASSES: It is a safe bet that almost all your readers will be convinced by the article of Professors Edel and Riedman on "Our Postwar Schools [in the August 15 issue of NM] that all of the following belong to one bundle of reactionary anti-educational influences: the Hutchins group of educators, the Milo MacDonald group, the *Journal-American* Paul Mallon, the budget-cutters, the anti-Roosevelt adherents of states' rights, and all isolationists. It is also a certainty that your readers will be definitely impressed with the notion that only in the CIO section of American labor will be found the most consistent and most ardent champions of American education. And finally, it is clear that what will appear as the most important task for your readers in behalf of education will be to fight for more and more spending on the part of the federal government on schools and schooling. This trio of impressions is, I believe, too lean a diet for any group of readers who are hungry for the meaty food that is today necessary for thinking about the future of education. The battle of the schools of thought on educational problems is today too complex and too profoundly interwoven with systems of philosophy and social doctrine for anyone to be satisfied with the article of the two professors. Hence, it becomes extremely difficult for anyone to break into discussion with the points merely touched upon by the too-too-telescopic "survey" of the article. To really take up the article point by point will require great length. In your editorial introductory remark to the article you say "We believe the fullest discussion of all these questions is of extreme pertinence today." I agree. But the article by the two professors does not live up to your request.

The leanness of the article does not rest only in the omissions of the basic philosophical issues underlying the present-day conflict over education but also in the vagueness and the indefiniteness of what might be considered the positive and and constructive content proposed by the professors. For instance, in the last column the authors tell us that "labor has a stake not only in the extent of education but in the kind of education." Now, this is just the point. Here is where the authors should have begun their discussion; here is where they should have given analysis and elaboration. This is what we want, Messrs. Professors: What kind of an education do we want for the American people in the postwar? Instead, the authors merely make mention of the following: ". . . an educational system in keeping with a world of peace and security . . . the teaching of equality of opportunity for all national, religious, and racial groups . . . an understanding of American institutions as a basis for an extended political and economic democracy . . . the teaching of the cultures of other peoples . . . a broad educational process which is not narrowly vocational . . . a democratic set-up in the schools. . . ." Fine. But who will disagree? I as a teacher in one of the New York schools know that every administrator and supervisor and teacher and professor of education mouth these very phrases. But do we all mean the same things? Definitely not. And we don't mean the same things because of our fundamental philosophical differences. Here is where the professors should have come in.

In the few but skeleton remarks on the educational philosophy of the Hutchins group we not only get an absolutely unjust and unfair association of this group with the reactionary economic and political forces of the land but we actually are given a series of misinterpretations which are indeed ludicrous. It is absolutely untrue to say that the Hutchins people frown on "reflective thinking on critical social and economic issues of our own time" or on occupational preparation or on the development of individual differences or on the education for civic competency. To the Hutchins people the Hearstianism in American life is as distasteful as it is to all progressives; and they are fighting it as belligerently and successfully as do all the progressive movements. The opposition to the Hutchins school of thought comes from two very distinct philosophical groups in the United States—the naturalist-empirical school led by John Dewey and Sidney Hook and the dialectical-materialist school of the Communists.

In the Hutchins philosophy the latter two groups see the attempt at restoring the metaphysics of medieval scholasticism which to them is nothing else but the mantle of the Catholic Church. There is absolutely no doubt that it is this three-cornered fight that underlies the educational conflict of these three groups. However, it must be noted that the people of the dialectical-materialist school are not employing today the strict Marxian-Leninist arguments but find it just as convenient to use the arguments of the Dewey and Hook group. Now, therefore, the question is: Must the future educational experience of the United States be torn asunder on the field of battle where these champions take to the sword? Life itself is teaching us that it is not so. It is a living fact that Hutchins and Dewey and Browder are on the same side in the battle against fascism and what fascism stands for—ignorance for the masses and slavery for the workers and anti-intellectualism and anti-religion. Life itself is bringing all of us together to fight for knowledge and freedom and intellectual development and religious freedom. And this is not true only for the immediate future; it can be true for the long-run as well.

The fight that we should be waging in behalf of the future of American education is not therefore the kind indicated by professors Edel and Riedman. As teachers we should fight for that kind of an educational system wherein opposites in philosophical views can live to fight. As citizens we should fight for that kind of a social system wherein this kind of an educational system can flourish.

Thus, as teacher-citizens we are engaged in a double fight—the fight for the just social order, the best criterion of which is the existence of the freedom to develop our own insights into the meaning of life and living. By all means let us get all the schools we can and let us fill them with all the pupils we can. By all means let us fight the niggardly hand that stifles educational growth. But let us never forget that the primary emphasis must be for us teachers the constant duty of hammering away at the issues that face mankind in peace and in war and in clarifying them for all without exception. The future of the American school therefore depends more on the courage and the intellectual clarity of the teaching profession itself collectively and individually than on elaborate school structures. And this requires that today, this very moment, teachers begin to struggle for philosophical vision and an understanding of the ultimates in our contemporary life. Merchants we will have aplenty and the dealers in commodities, but the teacher must himself nourish his own growth or else the cultural superstructure of life will wither.

MARTIN WOLFSON.

Brooklyn.

The Loyal Nisei

TO NEW MASSES: We wish to commend NEW MASSES for publication of the article, "Plight of the Nisei," by Carey McWilliams, in its issue of August 8, 1944.

We wish to question, however, the editors' note introducing the article. We agree fully that "the evacuation of Japanese citizens and aliens from the West Coast was a necessary military measure." We disagree with the statement that "the question of time of their (Japanese-Americans') return to the West Coast is a matter for the federal authorities to decide." Setting forth that opinion in the manner it was expressed creates an impression that the editors of NEW MASSES are opposed to any effort that will help lift the ban

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against Japanese-Americans on the West Coast. I believe that this impression is false and should be corrected.

Most certainly, the federal authorities will have to be the ones to authorize return of Japanese-Americans to the West Coast area. But every American who believes in the democratic process must support the right of Japanese-Americans to return to their homes on the West Coast, if they so desire, as soon as military considerations permit. We cannot allow the bigoted race-haters and professional patrioteers to be the sole influence on our government on this question. We cannot leave to the federal authorities the decisions as to when it will be safe, in the military sense, for the Japanese-American to return to the West Coast. It is essential that we help the federal authorities in their efforts to arrive at a correct decision.

The Japanese-Americans, as a group, have demonstrated their loyalty to the United States. Their sons are in our armed forces. They are buying war bonds, giving blood and engaging in all phases of the victory program. The majority of those Japanese-Americans who have left the war relocation centers are working in war industries in the East and Midwest. It must be emphasized that each and every Japanese-American who is released from the relocation centers is thoroughly investigated. His loyalty is beyond question. It should be clear that as much havoc and damage to the war program can be created in New York or Chicago or Cleveland or Detroit—as in San Francisco or Los Angeles or Seattle. If it is safe for a Japanese-American to live in Milwaukee and work in a war factory, then it should be safe for him to return to Seattle.

The agitation against the Japanese-American is purely racial and anti-democratic in character. Its objective is to create a scapegoat of the Japanese-Americans, to deprive them of their rights as citizens or legally resident aliens. Unfortunately, certain defenders of the Japanese-Americans are no better than the forces they pretend to fight. The pacifist —Norman Thomas—"civil liberties" group has made a particularly special appeal to the Japanese-American. But the program they have advanced has differed only in wordage from the editorial attacks of the Hearst press against the Japanese-American. Both the Hearst press and Norman Thomas and company seek to direct public sentiment against the President and the war effort—the Hearst press among the public and Norman Thomas among the Japanese-Americans and certain sections of the public.

We must seek to solve the question of the Japanese-American and his status in a positive democratic fashion. The Roosevelt administration, through the War Relocation Authority, has given capable and democratic leadership to the nation in seeking to solve the problems of the Japanese-American. It remains for us to support the right of loyal Japanese-Americans for speedy relocation out of the war relocation centers and into normal community life (which is the objective of the War Relocation Authority) and for the right of Japanese-Americans to live and work anywhere in the United States, on an equal basis with all other Americans.

ABNER GREEN,
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
New York.

Muddling Through History

TO NEW MASSES: Infinite thanks to you for the marvelous review of Lewis Mumford's latest by your Mr. Bradford. In addition to being an amazing virtuoso bit of scholarship, the article will go far to lay the myth of Mumford's erudition, which was certainly his last claim to respect.

But there is more than the demise of one man's reputation involved here. True, the fatuous, bedroom history of Mumford is startling in the light of his early promise. I maintain that much in *Technics and Civilization* showed such promise, though an incipient muddle-headedness was apparent. Here, however, we have another step down in the descent into oblivion of that intellectual group of Red-baiters who once strutted so cockily before the adoring eyes of their reactionary patrons. These men—Eastman, Mortimer Adler, Mumford, et al.—were no Sokolskys, no Eugene Lyons'. They made pretense to loftiness, to incorruptibility. One couldn't buy them for a sordid journalistic debauch. They were steeped in scholarship, absolutely reeking with culture. Yet is not their collapse the more complete, the more degrading? Certainly, we say. Pegler will snipe endlessly at progress—isn't that what he is being paid for? Wouldn't he do otherwise if the price were high enough? But Mumford is a dweller in the "realms of gold" (no double entendre intended): he hobnobs with the immortals. He is no sports-writer turned social critic by an upped paycheck. Westbrook could always go back to the press box and probably be lots happier there: but Mumford's natural habitat is the Art Gallery, the museum, and the library. He has been subjected to the truth, for his bibliography is imposing. But how masterfully he has eluded it, and how clumsily and ineptly he has tried to obscure it. As Mr. Bradford so succintly puts it, "Imagine the 'scholarship' which reveals that Marx was no scholar!"

There is more than confused dates and anachromistic references wrong with Mr. Mumford's book. The whole basic structure is creaky and doomed. There is the smell of decay about it. The essence of the whole problem is in the grotesque deification of this Patrick Geddes person, whom even the learned Mr. Bradford could not place. You just can't march against the truth, the way Mumford has tried to do, and not come up looking bedraggled and battered, if you come up at all. Imagine how distorted, how diseased an intellect must become to allow a man who professes to be a thinker to dispense completely with the scientific method, and substitute such absurdities as "spiritual animation" and the vague "idolum."

Mr. Bradford's approach is by contrast with Mr. Mumford's sloppiness doubly impressive. This review is a classic example of the creative criticism: not in the old, conventional sense of helping the writer, because Mr. Mumford, I am afraid, is beyond that: but in the sense that one learns, as he reads Mr. Bradford, the enormous erudition, the barbed wit, the piercing analysis and the contemporary awareness which goes into the making of Marxist criticism. It is reassuring and strengthening to know that our side sounds so infinitely superior to theirs in every respect. For ours is the healthy, the strong, the creative side: and the side which will hasten the destruction, the obliteration of that mealy-mouthed, sickly group of pseudo-intellectuals who have for two decades hidden their reactionary, obstructionist motives in the folds of a medieval and degenerate scholasticism.

JEROME TOOBIN.
Glenside, Pa.

NEW MASSES *extends a cordial invitation to all our readers to express their approval or disapproval of the articles and editorials we publish. We believe the times demand fullest discussion of all the viewpoints present in the camp of those who earnestly seek a better world: victory in war and in peace; the achievement of an economy of abundance; the reelection of Roosevelt. We know there are differences of opinion among honest democrats on how these ends can be achieved. We invite the expression of these differences, so that the all viewpoints can be aired, and agreements reached upon the basis of democratic debate.—The Editors.*

How Big Is Thomas Mann?

TO NEW MASSES: G. Ritter's review of Thomas Mann's *Joseph The Provider* in the July 25 issue, was, I think, pretty summary treatment of one of Mann's admitted stature.

Ritter, as a reviewer for the NEW MASSES, might be expected to have dealt with some of the parallels drawn by the author between Joseph's time and our own. The comparisons might be inept or false, but they are there as a not inconsiderable factor in the novel. And some of the parallels discuss problems such as the role of aggressor and attacked nation, surely of interest to today's reader, and not too "complex."

As for the *Joseph* tetralogy not being a novel, that is a hell of a criticism when one considers the list of famous and long-lived novels which were devastated upon publication with the charge of not being "novels."

This letter is by no stretch of the imagination a review in competition to G. Ritter's own. I'd like, however, to read another review of *Joseph The Provider* in NEW MASSES, one, to quote G. Ritter, a little less "pompous."

ROBERT FRIEDMAN.
New York.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Acrobatics, Not Leadership

IT WAS Calvin Coolidge who invented the anonymous "White House spokesman" to relieve himself of the burden of being responsible for his own opinions. Though the White House is still only a gleam in Thomas E. Dewey's eye, he seems to be following the example of cagey Cal by speaking in his own name as little and as late as possible where the great questions of the day are concerned. One would think that the issue of postwar collaboration to bar future wars is one on which the American people have the right to know exactly where any aspirant to the presidency in the year 1944 stands. But it seems that Governor Dewey intends to let them in on the secret only gradually, ambiguously, and by special courier. The other day Governor Edge of New Jersey paid a visit to the GOP standard bearer. He thereupon issued a statement in which he told the public what he thinks Governor Dewey thinks about international collaboration. The nearest this statement came to getting specific was the declaration that Dewey interpreted that double-jointed phrase in the Republican platform, "peace forces," as meaning "everything from an editorial to a sixteen-inch gun."

In the case of Dewey we are being asked to believe that every timid inch forward represents a bold move on the part of a man of courage and decision. This particular inch is of a piece with the belated and limited repudiation of Ham Fish and Gerald L. K. Smith and is actuated by the same cool calculations as to what is or is not expedient in terms of votes. All this bears about as much resemblance to statesmanship as does Jimmy Durante to a bathing beauty.

Of course, Governor Dewey's favorite position on important issues is: "I don't wish to comment at this time." On his return trip from the Republican governors' conference he assailed the Roosevelt administration as incompetent to handle the problems of reconversion, but when a reporter asked him whether he favored continued control over materials for civilian products through the priorities system, Dewey suddenly grew inarticulate and declined to comment. Just why the American people should entrust leadership in the war and the peace to a man who is unable to make up his mind about anything till he has studied public opinion polls, looked cautiously in all directions and consulted the oracle of Palo Alto is more than we can understand. Of course, we appreciate the problem Dewey has of appearing to move with the current of popular sentiment while actually his direction is that of the Hoovers and Tafts. The country, however, needs not acrobatics but leadership, and for this Dewey is wholly unfit.

Bill Smith Nominates

IF YOUNG Tom Dewey could somehow be lured onto a platform with that "tired old man" Harold Ickes, we suspect that it would result in a weary and very much chastened young governor at the end of the evening. Those who heard the Secretary of the Interior speak at the nominating convention of the state American Labor Party last week didn't envy the GOP presidential candidate, "the eager young man who wasn't there." Mr. Ickes spoke the mind of the thousand delegates when he inquired, in his usual artless manner, as to Mr. Dewey's whereabouts when the administration's men were hammering out the program that saved millions of Americans from starvation in the thirties; and his location when the lend-lease program was being adopted. And where was Mr. Dewey when relations were being established with America's strongest ally, the Soviet Union? Mr. Ickes is still trying to ascertain rhetorically, we suspect, where the governor is on the question of international collaboration in the postwar period.

The convention at which Mr. Ickes spoke afforded little comfort to the GOP strategists; after unanimously endorsing President Roosevelt and Senator Truman for the highest offices of the land, it declared itself for Senator Wagner's reelection; it selected Judge Marvin R. Dye of Rochester as the choice for the State Court of Claims, and approved the forty-seven Democratic electors. All of this brought anguished cries from the Hearst-Patterson press which continued to warn the Democrats—in a friendly way, of course—that the "radicals" were taking over the Democratic Party.

The "radicals," which include all protagonists of an economy of abundance and a durable peace (men like that old Bolshevik Senator Wagner, for instance), heard Mr. Ickes pry further into the furore against labor for its temerity in raising funds for the political campaign. It seemed to Mr. Ickes' ageing vision that "the right to contribute to campaign funds seems to be regarded by the 'Deweyites' as the inherent and exclusive right of the very rich. . . . The working man must be kept in his place." When he finished reading the list of the du Pont dynasty who have generously contributed to GOP coffers, it seemed clear that the "plain Bill Smiths" had a right to chip in with a buck to help promote the issues for which their candidates stand.

Sidney Hillman's eloquent arguments against "factionalism and narrow partisan interest" will, we fear, fall on deaf ears in the editorial offices of, say, the New York *Herald Tribune*, but they were carefully heeded by the delegates at the convention. Nor will the thin-skinned Mr. Dewey enjoy the charge that he is "stubbornly denying" the vote to more than 800,000 citizens of New York by failing to afford them the same facilities granted in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. No; we do not believe the GOP bigwigs were very cocky as they read the newspaper accounts of the ALP convention. Labor really doesn't seem to know its place.

We Are Not Indifferent

"I THINK the booklet will go well, and especially among the America First members . . . to prepare them for J-Day"—the J that was chalked up on the store windows of Jewish merchants in Berlin so frequently after 1933. "I trust the day arrives soon when I can sit down with Adolf Hitler personally on a man-to-man basis with great interests in common." "Army officers are openly talking of the inevitable purge to come, and the seed that has been planted in past years is certainly growing into a nationwide crop." "The undercurrent is sullen and dan-

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gerous, and all it takes to fan it is an economic breakdown, which is bound to come along, given time. We are following the pre-Hitler German pattern very closely. . . ." This is the stuff of which the 215 letters and magazines produced as evidence by the government at the sedition trials last Wednesday are made. The story told by the files seized in FBI raids on William Dudley Pelley's offices and home in 1942 outlines a plot as threatening and

The Luxury of Partisanship

LAST week NEW MASSES published a comment on Earl Browder's new book, *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace*, by Judge Patrick H. O'Brien of the Probate Court of Wayne County, Mich.. Judge O'Brien is a leading liberal Democrat and a former attorney general of Michigan. He liked Mr. Browder's book and praised it highly. However, he expressed his disagreement with "Mr. Browder's criticism of the two-party political structure in America" and with his statement that "partisanship is a costly luxury."

A careful reading of Mr. Browder's book reveals that he does not attack the idea of party organization or the two-party system—on the contrary, he proposes that Communists work within that system. What he criticizes are certain of the practices of party machines and, above all, the attitude which places loyalty to party in times of great national crisis above all other considerations. "The biggest domestic problem of the United States," Mr. Browder writes, "is therefore how to subdue and control the threatening spirit of unbridled partisanship in the election campaign. It is the problem of how to conduct a national election in the spirit of national unity."

We feel certain that at bottom there is no real disagreement between Judge O'Brien and Mr. Browder on this question. It is notable that President Roosevelt's acceptance speech was wholly in this non-partisan spirit. "In the last three elections," he said, "the people of the United States have transcended party affiliation. Not only Democrats, but also forward-looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership. . . ." And in his letter to Chairman Robert E. Hannegan of the Democratic National Committee, expressing willingness to accept the Democratic nomination, the President wrote: "I would accept and serve, but I would not run in the usual partisan political sense."

This non-partisan spirit also characterizes the CIO Political Action Committee. PAC supports Democrats like Roosevelt, Truman, Wagner, Pepper, and Republicans like Dean Wayne Morse, but opposes Democrats like Dies, Starnes, Costello, and Republicans like Dewey, Bricker, and Taft.

Two recent examples of the evil effects of extreme partisanship occur to us. The Republican Party in New York State was faced with the problem of choosing a candidate for US Senator. On August 8 the New York *Herald Tribune*, a Republican newspaper which until recent weeks frequently was able to place national interests above partisan pettiness, devoted its leading editorial to an appeal to the GOP state committee and to Governor Dewey to select "a citizen of established leadership, equipped with a thorough knowledge of domestic and foreign problems. . . ." The newspaper cited Wendell Willkie as an example of the type of person it had in mind. Dewey and the state committee replied that very day to the *Herald Tribune* by choosing—the boss of the Manhattan GOP machine, Thomas J. Curran.

What was the *Herald Tribune's* reaction? It was obvious that the *Tribune* was uncomfortable about the nomination of this patently unfit political hack. It did its best by Curran, speaking of his "vigor and integrity." But it had to admit that "a study of his spoken record reveals that he is against Communism and against the Roosevelt administration. What he is for remains to be disclosed." It so happens that New York State already has a Senator with all the qualifications urged in the *Herald Tribune's* original editorial: Senator Robert F. Wagner, who is being supported for re-election by Democrats, Laborites, independents, and many enlightened Republicans. But it was for Wagner and the epoch-making legislation which bears his name that the *Herald Tribune* reserved its harshest criticism. And it intimated its readiness to swallow Curran as it had previously swallowed a no less indigestible morsel: Thomas E. Dewey. What a spectacle: the powerful *Herald Tribune* reduced to the moral stature of a mouse! And all because it insists on drinking partisanship to the last unsavory dregs.

The second example of the evils of partisanship is Clare Boothe Luce. This gilded lady once belonged with the great majority of our people who support the war and postwar collaboration with our allies. True, she and her husband, publisher Henry Luce, approached the war and the peace from the oblique viewpoint of "American Century" imperialism—and this no doubt was one of the causes of her undoing. But it was not till Mrs. Luce got herself elected to Congress and became a spokesman for the Republican Party that she really began making passes at the defeatists and fascists. With her shocking speech at the Republican national convention attacking the war in the name of the dead soldiers, she emerged as a female Gerald L. K. Smith. And last week she demonstrated that she really means it when, in accepting the Republican renomination to Congress, she mounted the decrepit nag of anti-Communism fresh from the Goebbels-Smith-Coughlin stables and charged boldly against the Roosevelt administration. Again, what a spectacle: a brilliant, highly intellectual lady driven by extreme partisanship to one stupidity after another. Surely she deserves a long rest from public life. And so does narrow and corroding partisanship.

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ominous as that which brought on the fall of France in 1940. It is a story of open admiration of and collaboration with the Nazis. It is a story that frankly admits that William Dudley Pelley's Silver Shirts were formed, like Hitler's Brownshirts, to serve in a putsch against the US government. It displays anti-Semitic letters with such names as General Robert E. Wood's on its America First stationery; it contains praise from Lindbergh, and damning evidence against their "valuable ally," Maj. Gen. George Van Horn Moseley (ret.). It is the story of a most dangerous network directed against the very heart of America. Moreover, it is a tale not finished, as many of the characters are not only not on trial for sedition, but are working freely in the thick of America's war activities.

Yet only a few lines of this dramatic exhibition against Nazi Germany's American allies have reached the press. The big metropolitan press of New York either was not even there to take notes, or published a few apathetic lines on page nine or ten the day the exhibit was produced. Only Art Shields of the *Daily Worker* produced the ugly evidence at length for Americans to see how far the Nazi thing had got with its evil plans. Actually we won a major battle on the home front when the prosecution beat down the frantic efforts of the defense lawyers to prevent the entry of the 215 letters, but the press was unconcerned. (In Germany they shrugged shoulders over Hitler—before 1933.) They need to be reminded that their readers are not indifferent to threats against American democracy and that they want to know the face of the enemy in all its grim detail.

Oil for the New World

THE oil agreement signed by Washington and London is important not only because it attempts to bring some semblance of order into the production of petroleum but helps quiet the troubled waters so apparent ever since the Saudi Arabian episode cropped up several months ago. Whitehall quite obviously did not like the way in which we were proceeding to build a pipeline in the Middle East and must have spoken its mind in no uncertain terms. All this was indicative of an ancient friction which the new agreement will aid in eliminating. Viewed from the point of Anglo-American collaboration in initiating the settlement of an important postwar problem, the agreement is most valuable in that it shows an effort to compromise and adjust differences which would jeopardize the best-laid peace plans. Furthermore, the agreement is preliminary to the formation of a multilateral arrangement to which other oil producing countries will become signatories. It is, therefore, not an exclusive understanding but is open to all nations vitally concerned with petroleum trade, especially the Soviet Union.

The Little Man at Albany

The agreement, which might be more accurately described as a code of principles, assures the availability of adequate oil supplies to peaceful countries at a fair price and on a non-discriminatory basis and subject to any collective security arrangement which may become operative. In its emphasis on the development of petroleum resources compatible with the sound economic development of the producing countries, a long step forward is taken in halting the exploitation of backward areas where concessionaires moved in and then moved out leaving the area an economic shambles. These provisos, especially the clause calling for the freeing of oil production and distribution from unnecessary restrictions, are in keeping with the spirit of the Atlantic Charter which notes in one of its planks the right to equal access to the world's goods and resources.

Although the agreement does not go into effect until both governments indicate their readiness to bring it into force and although it is for the time being bilateral in character, it is a most fruitful move toward the kind of international economic collaboration and planning that augurs well for an enduring peace.

More Italian Democracy

IN THE political news from Europe last week one item of supreme importance was the establishment of a formal alliance between the Socialist and Communist Parties of Italy. That event follows the recent amalgamation of the Catholic, Socialist and Communist trade unions into a single confederation. And taken together both developments are symptomatic of the spirit of growing unity among the decisive political and labor elements on the peninsula. The alliance between the SP and the CP, headed respectively by Pietro Nenni and Palmiro Togliatti, does not for the time being anticipate a merger of both groups although that should not be counted out as a strong possibility in the foreseeable future. Each party retains its identity and structure, for both work for common goals. What those goals are is apparent from even the incomplete reports sent by newspaper correspondents. In view of the harrowing economic plight which the country inherited from Mussolini, both parties are pledged to reconstruct Italian industry and agriculture and to press for those measures which will assure adequate wages to meet the skyrocketing cost of living. On the political plane, the joint Socialist-Communist statement makes clear that both will work for a democratic republic "brought about by a constituent assembly" representative of the Italian people. "Our action is necessary," says the bipartisan communique, "because of the growing tendency we observe on the part of fascists and those allied with fascists, to sabotage either openly or covertly all attempts to achieve that profound democratization which is the aspiration of the Italian people." For its immediate objectives the alliance will work for a greater participation of the regular army and the partisans in prosecuting the war, for a purging of fascists from local administrations and for the quick punishment of those who brought the country to chaos and shame.

The alliance is open to all other parties, especially the Christian Democratic. This is important to remember, for if all these groups amalgamated on a common program Italian democracy would be anchored in the three most powerful parties. As it is the alliance

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between the Socialists and Communists is in itself a tremendous achievement because in this unity of the working class is to be found the guarantee that there will be no retrogression to the past or the development of fissures into which reactionary forces can infiltrate and damage Italian interests. Divisions among the workers of Europe have been the natural nourishment of every fascist demagogue, with Germany and Italy the best examples of what happened when differences were allowed to impede unity of action. There are, of course, those who see the new Socialist-Communist alliance as incompatible with the Italian anti-fascist cause as a whole. Actually it will strengthen the six-party government coalition by giving it working class unity. Naturally the alliance will not be cheered by those circles who work to curb the unfolding of Italian democracy because it menaces their private interests and loosens their control over Italy's future. The alliance will, however, receive the warmest welcome from those eager to see Italy a full-fledged ally among the United Nations—a goal for which the Italian Socialists and Communists ask American labor's support.

Gambling With a Nation

WHILE no doors are shut and negotiations may be resumed in the near future with the Polish Committee of National Liberation, the return to London of emigre Premier Mikolajczyk without an agreement is another token of the London group's refusal to reconstruct Poland on a firm democratic basis. Whatever other differences may have developed during the conversations in Moscow between Mikolajczyk and representatives of the committee, the central issue is whether the reactionary 1935 Constitution is to remain in force or whether it is to be replaced by the Constitution of 1921. Under the 1935 instrument, adopted under semi-fascist electoral laws, the government is responsible to no one but the private whims of its leaders. Except for a handful in the London cabinet the 1935 Constitution finds little support among the exiles scattered over the globe and certainly none within Poland itself. That forms the moral basis for the Liberation Committee's insistence that the 1921 Constitution become operative again, since under it free elections can be held within Poland. The opposition of the London faction to the old Constitution indicates its fear of the outcome of such elections. If Mikolajczyk wants unity with the Liberation Committee he will have to act with greater decision and abandon those who would again drag Poland through the political sewers laid in the past by Pilsudski and his colonels.

How utterly impervious to Poland's real interests are some of Mikolajczyk's colleagues is again demonstrated in the Warsaw underground incident. The London emigres try to manufacture the impression that the Warsaw insurrection was agreed upon in advance by Soviet military leaders. But TASS, the official Soviet news agency, makes it absolutely clear that there was never any attempt on the part of the London group to notify or coordinate events in Warsaw with the movements of the Red Army. Even before the TASS declaration was

(*Continued on page 28*)

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

POCKETING THE GERMAN ARMY

The following was written before the news arrived that Allied forces had landed in southern France.—The Editors.

IT IS entirely possible that by the time these lines reach print the Battle of Northwestern France will have resolved itself either in a "western Stalingrad" (on a somewhat reduced scale) or in a massive retreat of the German Seventh Army across the Seine. It is practically impossible to form an opinion as to the shape of the battle at this moment because the operation is in such a fluid stage that the Allied Supreme Command has imposed a "radio silence."

There is little doubt, however, that a great Allied victory is just about to be consummated, because, even if the German Seventh Army does succeed in avoiding a total encirclement in Stalingrad style, only battered remnants of a score of divisions, including several panzer divisions, will be able to make their way across the Seine, with little except their pants. However little we know about the progress and actions of the decisive factor in this great battle, which is the American armored sweep from Avranches south to Rennes and then east to Le Mans, and hence seemingly north to Alencon in the direction of Argentan, it is clear that this is a maneuver in the grand style.

When this sweep was only beginning to develop, the German Command, seeing that the terrible "lion" had broken down the door of his Cotentin "cage" and was now on the loose, obviously decided that it was useless to build any kind of a "fence" to contain him. The thing to do was to collect whatever armor and infantry was available and strike at the narrow corridor between the Bay of Saint Michel and the German positions west of Domfront so as to cut the tenuous lines of communications (two roads only) through which American armor was being fed. This corridor had to feed all American units south of the Avranches-Paris line. This meant those near Brest, near Nantes and near Le Mans, forming a sort of 150-degree fan with a radius of better than 100 miles. Cutting through to the sea at the pivot of the fan would have meant that all American combat vehicles along the periphery of the fan would have stopped for lack of fuel and would have become helpless for want of ammunition. But the German counterblow in the direction of Avranches failed. The "lion" continued on his rampage, striking at St. Malo, Brest, Lorient, St. Nazaire, Nantes, Angers, Tours, Le Mans, and Alencon.

With a series of radiating blows American forces blocked the submarine ports and wiped out the pigboat menace in the Atlantic (by making the U-boats "homeless waifs"), crossed the Loire near Nantes, thus threatening La Rochelle and Bordeaux, created a direct menace to the outer defenses of Paris (Chartres, Dreux, Chateaudun, Vendome, and Orleans) and then swung north for an attempt to encircle and

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annhilate the Seventh Army in the Domfront-Argentan pocket.

Meanwhile great aerial armadas of light and medium bombers and fighter-bombers are keeping up an almost constant attack on the bridges and crossings of the Seine and Loire, also the Eure and Loire which are tributaries of the Seine and Loire respectively, and which, springing from the same area, enclose the area of the battle from the east. Our planes are having a field day with tens of thousands of German motor vehicles streaming out of the Argentan area toward the lower Seine, Rouen, and Paris. These vehicles cannot afford to wait for the darkness of night to move because time is pressing.

It would seem that because a German *front* as such does not exist any more south of the Le Mans-Paris line, the enemy will have to withdraw from southwestern France altogether, perhaps to the Havre-Paris-Belfort line. *A great opportunity appears to be open for a landing on the Cote d'Azur of France.* And August 8 appears again to have been a black day for Germany in the west, just as in 1918, more than a quarter of a century ago.

On the Eastern Front three key operations are under way: the slicing up, strangling, and extermination of General Lindemann's Baltic Army Group between Lake Peipus and the Dvina; the severance of East Prussia from the area of the Big Bend of the Vistula and the simultaneous outflanking of Warsaw from the north; and the building up of the southern claw of the future Kielce-Lodz pincers by General Konev in the area between the upper Vistula and the Kielce-Cracow railroad line. All other operations are auxiliary for the moment, even if the headline writers continue to talk about an attack on Insterburg or Koenigsberg, Warsaw and Cracow and Silesia.

Generals Bagramian and Yeremenko are moving northwestward from the area of Ekabpils-Krustpils (Jacobstadt-Kreuzburg) on the Dvina toward Riga, ever thickening the ring which encircles Lindemann's armies. After the complete collapse of the German effort last week to get out of the trap by a blow across the lower Dvina to the southwest and East Prussia, it is hardly to be expected that Lindemann can hope for anything better than a partial evacuation by sea. But in order to evacuate by sea in a more or less organized manner one must shake off the pursuing enemy, or have superior air cover and naval support at

From CIO-PAC "What Every Canvasser Should Know"

the ports. This the Germans cannot do and have not got. General Maslennikov, advancing from his base in Pskov, is slicing Lindemann's Group in two along the Petseri-Valga-Pernow line, forcing the Germans to fight instead of marching down to the ships.

The second operation which is developing roughly in the Bialystok-Warsaw area is being conducted by the combined Army Groups of Marshal Rokossovsky **and General Zakharov and is closely linked to what Chernyakhovsky is doing on their right. Chernyakhovsky is holding a ring of steel around East Prussia from the east, Zakharov is advancing through the marshes of the Bobr River, which is a right-hand tributary of the Narev. The crossing of the Bobr would mean actually the turning of the Narev defense system. By this maneuver northwest of Bialystok General Zakharov is forging the southern link of the ring around East Prussia, further isolating it from the main battleground, which bids fair to be in the bend of the Vistula.**

General Rokossovsky, by-passing Warsaw in a general northwesterly direction, is advancing on the Bialystok-Warsaw railroad and its key-junction of Malkinia whence a line runs northwest to Tannenberg, Marienburg and Danzig. In this connection it is important to point out the criminal stupidity and selfishness of the Polish "government"-in-exile which ordered the Warsaw underground fighters to rise without coordinating their action with Marshal Rokossovsky. The fact that there was no such coordination has been flatly and officially stated by TASS. This department which has no special sources of information, except the newspapers, was able to foresee that no direct attack on Warsaw was contemplated immediately. How is it that the Polish generals in London, and "General Bor" himself were not able to see the situation and started an uprising which will become an everlasting stigma of disgrace on the Raczkiewicz - Kukiel - Sosnkowski - Kot cabal? They did it, in order, in case of success (a one to 100 shot) to claim that *they* had captured Warsaw without Russian help, and in case of failure to lay the blame at the Red Army's door, saying that the Russians "had let them down." It is difficult to find a more shameful betrayal of one's own fighting people. And General Bor himself (if he actually exists) will have to stand court-martial for "obeying a patently criminal order," which is a case foreseen by any military code. Just imagine a partisan commander in Lithuania starting on operation not on orders of General Chernyakhovsky, but, say, of a Mr. Bilmanis in Washington—a tragic and ridiculous situation.

Marshal Konev continues to absorb a violent German counterthrust against his bridgehead on the left bank of the Vistula and is obviously accumulating strength for a drive across Warsaw's communications with Silesia. Here again the Germans are demonstrating that they are unable to take the offensive successfully on any front whatsoever.

President Roosevelt's visit to Hawaii and the Aleutians has served to bring the importance of our operations in the Pacific into still bolder relief. The salient fact there is that we are firmly established within 1,500 miles of Japan and of the Philippines. It would seem that a great landing operation against the Philippines is not too far off, perhaps coincidental with the end of the monsoons in Burma and a possible start of large-scale offensive operations by Lord Louis Mountbatten's Command in Southeast Asia. There the British Navy has been reinforced with ships and by the dispatch of such a naval commander as Admiral Sir Bruce Fraser.

Our "Super-Fortresses" have raided Nagasaki and oil installations in Sumatra reminding the Japanese that no spot in their loot-empire is safe from our bombs and thus forcing them to divert more and more AA-protection to the home front.

Things are progressing well in Burma where General Stilwell is quietly and unobtrusively doing his grand work in linking China to India by land. His job may be completed in the rough by fall and then a General Stilwell-Mountbatten-McArthur-Nimitz converging operation may be launched toward the southeastern bulge of China so as to create a fighting area from which Japan can be decisively beaten on land.

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"FREEDOM ROAD"

By SAMUEL SILLEN

FOLLOWING the success of Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind*, I wrote an article for NEW MASSES on "History and Fiction" which noted that "in America, the writers of the left have only begun to explore the rich possibilities opened up by a Marxist revaluation of our history; and in fiction we have practically nothing that will represent for truth what *Gone With the Wind* represents for reaction. . . . One thing is certain: if we fail to portray the truth, the twentieth-century Confederates will continue to dramatize their distorted perspectives —and with damaging effectiveness."

I indulge in this recollection merely to emphasize that six years ago one could only hope for the appearance of a body of progressive historical fiction, whereas today one may point to it as a proud accomplishment. Six years ago this genre was virtually monopolized by novelists like Kenneth Roberts who celebrated tory ideals. Today the democratic attitude finds expression in a host of novels dealing with the critical periods of our history.

While this change is basically due to the ascendancy of the progressive forces in American life, accompanied by the deepened consciousness of the American people, it is more specifically the achievement of novelists like Howard Fast who have responded creatively to the challenge of democratic struggle and growth.

More consistently and successfully than any other American writer of our day, Fast has devoted himself to making our past come alive, significantly alive, through narrative art. To this important task he has brought not only fine literary craftsmanship, but ever-maturing sympathy, courage, and understanding. Even before the publication of his new book, *Freedom Road*, the author of *The Last Frontier*, *The Unvanquished*, *Citizen Tom Paine*, and other novels had earned recognition as America's leading historical novelist. That distinction is greatly strengthened by *Freedom Road*, in many ways the most striking of Fast's works.*

In *Citizen Tom Paine*, Fast rescued from abuse and partial oblivion one of the four or five greatest men in American history, illuminating through his career the aspirations of the people today. *Freedom Road*, even more daringly and with searing relevance to American society today, rips away the lies with which most historians have draped the Reconstruction period when they have not smothered it with silence. This period was to determine whether the South, with its slave oligarchy defeated, could be democratically transformed, or whether the road to freedom for Negroes and poor Southern whites would be blocked for generations with tragic consequences for the nation as a whole. Tom Paine's revolution could be either fulfilled or denied in these post-Civil War years. The Reconstruction South was a major battleground of democracy.

Not since Albion Tourgee's *A Fool's Errand* (1879), called in its day the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of Reconstruction, has a novel told so many important truths about the period. The conventional view, unchallenged in the textbooks, sanctified in fiction from *The Clansman* to *Gone With the Wind* and in the film from *The Birth of a Nation* to *Tennessee Johnson*, portrays the vanquished plantation aristocrats as pitiful victims of the freed Negroes, the poor whites, and the "carpetbaggers." Reconstruction has become the hackneyed object-lesson that Negroes are incapable of responsibility and unable to live on a plane of equality with whites. It is this lie, the most damnable in our history, that Fast demolishes in his story.

The figure of Gideon Jackson, the South Carolina slave who fought with the Union armies, sums up the deep yearning of the freedmen for land, for justice, for an equal place in the nation's life. This yearning becomes steeled and disciplined as Gideon participates in the state convention and as he moves

"Obstacle Course," by Private Ernest A. Harris, Canadian Medical Service Corps. From an exhibition of Canadian army art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art through August 31.

* FREEDOM ROAD, *by Howard Fast. Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $2.75.*

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on to the legislature and Congress. The unlettered man, fumbling, a little frightened, grows into an able and informed political leader, sustained in his fight by his own people. By hard work, the Negroes and poor whites of the old Carwell plantation buy their own land, learn how to vote and how to make collective decisions for their own welfare. And when the hooded men of the Ku Klux Klan, terrorist agents of the big landowners, seek to destroy the new life that the Negroes have arduously created along freedom road, they fight back, glorious human beings in their defeat, which is at the same time the defeat of their country. Fighting for their own, they project the day when America shall at last no longer be crippled by social inequality between Negro and white.

Here, says Fast in effect, was the one occasion, however brief and however limited, when Negroes could work out their own destiny in collaboration with whites in similar circumstances; and what a superb beginning they had made. Not they, but the ex-Confederates, the "unreconstructed" rebels, were the corrupt, the vicious, and the violent ones of Reconstruction. And if Fast fills us with loathing for the Ku Kluxers, he makes us share the dignity and beauty of those whom they lynched and burned.

Fast's portrait of Gideon Jackson, his wife Rachel, and their family is especially fine. In 1867, when the novel opens, they are only beginning to learn the meaning of freedom, and the transition between the old and the new life evokes conflicts and tensions. One remembers the keen desire of these people for knowledge, summed up by Gideon in the language of the folk:

"Here's me, black man made free, skinning his heels down the road to Charleston town, proud like a peacock to be a delegate in a convention. But can't read, can't write, just wrapped in ignorance. Here's maybe four million black men in this southland, just whispering for a little bit of learning. Got freedom a mile high, like a gracious sweet song, but where that all get a man who bows his head with ignorance?" Gideon's conquest of that "ignorance" as he moves from a borrowed speller to law books, encouraged by the scholarly Negro leader, Cardozo, is in the Lincoln tradition. Within ten years Gideon has become an eloquent speaker on the floor of the House of Representatives, a firm petitioner to the tired President Grant, and a spokesman for his people:

"Mess Hall," by Pvt. E. A. Harris, C.M.S.C. Also in the Canadian army art exhibition at the Metropolitan.

"I lived for a little while in my fool's paradise. . . . It took me a long time to realize what the Klan is, how it operates, why it was organized. I know now, just as you know. The Klan has only one purpose, to destroy democracy in the South, to kill off the independent farmer, to split, in so doing, the black man from the white man. The black man will become a peon, not too different from the slave he was before the war. And because he is that, a slave in effect if not in fact, the white man will be drawn down with him. A few will become great and mighty, as before the war. But only a few. For the rest of us, poverty, hunger, hatred—such hatred as will become a sickness for this nation."

FAST's portraits of the other Negro characters, like Brother Peter the preacher, and Trooper, who fights it out alone against the Klan, are sympathetic and penetrating. His white characters enable us to measure the vast distance in the white world between the "cultured" clansman and the abolitionist, the brutalized ex-overseer and the white farmer who learns to respect and love his Negro comrade in the fight for freedom.

The novel is permeated with a loving quality which casts a warm glow over the story and the people, though at times it may overstate the idyllic character of even the best moments of Reconstruction. And this warm quality is linked with a great simplicity and genuineness that always characterizes the best of Fast's work. To an extent the very simplicity of style and structure appears to limit the dimension of the work, yet few novelists can so effectively cut through a great mass of historical material to its human essence and its basic significance. And while we may be troubled by the long interval of years between the two sections of the book, during which so much has happened, our interest is sustained throughout by the lives with which we have become so surely identified.

A valuable contribution to our understanding of history, *Freedom Road* should at the same time open the eyes of many readers to the vital problems that we now face. The novel is a dramatic testament to the intimate friendship and equality of peoples for which we fight today. It rekindles our sense of how much, how terribly much, of our common humanity has been poisoned by those who hate and fear the people, and it renews our faith that through common action Negroes and decent-minded whites can fulfill the democratic promise for which Gideon Jackson fought and died.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

Answer: No

IS DEWEY THE MAN? *by Sender Garlin, with illustrations by William Gropper. Workers Library.* 5¢.

THE countless millions who believe in the issuance of a better world from the ghastly conflict that is in progress, the countless millions who have willed

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The Right to Die but Not to Think

HAVING made a pretty successful attempt to deprive 800,000 American servicemen of the right of franchise in the coming election, the Republicans are encouraged to go a step beyond. They propose to do away with the prerogative of thinking on the part of our men in the armed forces. Title Five of the Soldier's Vote Act, which has suspended sales of books, magazines, and newspapers in Army camps here and abroad on the grounds that certain reading material contained "political propaganda," recently reached out for *Wilson*, the new Darryl Zanuck film. Whatever its weaknesses the picture draws certain forceful parallels to the issues of today, and apparently the GOP was disturbed about its circulation among our fighting men. Meanwhile, Sen. Robert Taft, author of the infamous Title Five, viewing with alarm the public displeasure his amendment had created, was busy explaining that the "Army has construed the section so strictly we feel some revision may be necessary. . . ."

One might blame the Army, of course, but it seems a little unreasonable to berate the War Department for carrying out the letter of a law as it was written and passed. Other painful experiences with Republican Congressmen (as in the case of the OWI) may have served as lessons well learned. Obviously Mr. Taft's intention was to prevent our GI's becoming infected with any sort of notion other than that the present administration was a group of inefficient and bureaucratic politicians. Any newspaper, periodical, or book which may even have only hinted otherwise was therefore full of dangerous thoughts and not good for men who were merely risking their lives to save a country in whose future they had the biggest stake.

THE situation had become a scandal. From banning books such as Catherine Bowen's *Yankee on Olympus* (a biography of Justice Holmes), and Charles Beard's *The Republic*, under Title Five the only newspaper to which the Army has access in all Army camps in the European area is its own *Stars and Stripes*. The only weeklies are special editions of the New York *Times* and Chicago *Tribune*, edited for servicemen. A military authority in London recently said that these "contained no politics." It's possible, of course. But we would like to ask why our soldiers are so carefully sheltered from "politics"? It would seem that they had a right to think as they pleased about a coming election in a democratic country, even if the Deweys and Tafts have made sure it will be as difficult as possible for them to express those thoughts in ballot form.

Apparently many Army men, and their families on the home front, were also asking these questions. As we go to press, according to the headlines, Mr. Taft has agreed to a draft of a bill which will supposedly do away with legal restrictions on political material. News reports say that a revision of the law is expected to be rushed through Congress shortly. But this is no time for complacency. Everybody should write Mr. Taft, immediately, and urge the passage of such a bill. Our men have never cringed when dying is necessary, and they ought to have the right to think while they live.

that this shall be, may see the war as a vast agony preceding birth. They may recognize those national leaders who have now emerged to be wise and skilled physicians chosen by the masses and trusted by them to bring about the great fulfillment. The conference of these physicians at which those measures were determined upon that would make certain of the birth and make certain that the child, named Peace, would live and grow and prosper was at Teheran. It was not only steps for victory that were there decided upon, but steps toward an enduring peace. Events have shown the wisdom of the steps toward victory; and time will show the wisdom of their postwar plans.

Yet now, as the fall of 1944 approaches, as victory is assured, and as the moment for the implementing of the peace draws near, there are—believe it or not—people in America who clamor to dismiss our leader, our physician; people who—when the work of his twelve years of labor and wise leadership is about to take form and the peace and happiness of his people which has been his single constant aim is, as he and they together have planned it, to be accomplished—would dismiss the leader and destroy his work. These people—and there are millions of them—constitute the Republican Party.

The man that they would substitute for the proved leader and physician has for two years of his not very long life occupied the position of an executive. He has been the governor of New York State. There are forty-eight states in our Union; and each state has its governor. It is not unusual to assume that the mere incumbency of such a post denotes that a man is qualified to lead the nation. It is fair to say that only the display of special, extra-gubernatorial intelligence in matters that are of national concern and, in a crisis like the present, of state concern as they affect the nation and the world would mark a governor as fit material for the presidency.

Sender Garlin's pamphlet *Is Dewey the Man?* is as fair an inquiry into the fitness of New York State's governor for the presidency as the title of the pamphlet would suggest. It is a handbook for the American voter on the Republican presidential aspirant of 1944. It should be read by everyone. It reviews the origin and past of Dewey, for these are pertinent. And if it fails, as perhaps it does, to stress in Dewey's favor—however little it may have to do with presidential timber—his successful prosecution of New York gangsters, it likewise leaves unmentioned the disregard for law and civil liberties to which so much of his success as prosecutor was notoriously due. Much will be said, in praise of presidential candidate Dewey, of his record as district attorney in New York City. Yet if one may generalize, it would be safe to state that no criminal lawyer is fitted by that experience to be President of a democracy.

If much of the pamphlet is of necessity concerned with Dewey's adminis-

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tration of matters that were exclusively of state concern, it but reflects Dewey's own choice, in time of war, to turn his back on larger issues. And yet, silent as he has been throughout the past few years, he does not stand uncommitted. In January of 1940, only a year and a half before Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, less than two years before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, at a time when statesmen, gifted as statesmen must be with far vision and something of prophecy, were shaping those alliances which have become that one alliance, the United Nations, Dewey, speaking at the nineteenth annual luncheon of the Women's National Republican Club in the Hotel Astor, said:

"It has recently been revealed that within the past year the administration seriously considered still another deal with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. In a futile attempt to avert war, it actually explored the possibilities of a fantastic partnership with Russia. . . . We need no such partnerships. . . ."

"We need no such partnerships ! ! " What if there had been no such partnership? Americans, English, French, people of Scandinavia and the Lowlands, people of Africa, China—free, decent human beings everywhere, reflect and shudder: If Dewey had been President in 1940, the war and all human liberty would have gone down. Can people vote for such a man for President?

And while there are many of us who in those days were mistaken about the role of the USSR and who in these days, as not too convincingly has Dewey, have come to see the light, we have the grace to not proclaim ourselves as candidates. The pamphlet's title asks a question—"Is Dewey the Man?" The man for what? We have no vacancy. ROCKWELL KENT.

Grassroots Planning

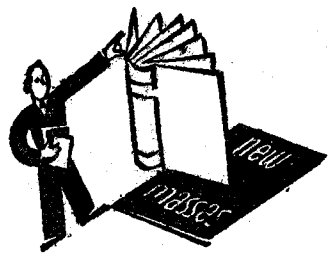
TVA—DEMOCRACY ON THE MARCH, *by David E. Lilienthal. Harper. $2.50.*

THIS book comes at a particularly opportune time. Written by a man who for ten years has functioned ably as chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, it will provide valuable ammunition against critics of the TVA program. In a broader sense, the book is also opportune because it suggests fruitful and democratic methods for postwar resource development. Unlike many of our "postwar planners" Mr. Lilienthal is precise, realistic, and at the same time filled with an optimistic faith in an expanding democracy. Even among progressive circles, knowledge of TVA achievements and their significance is far too limited. Mr. Lilienthal's book should be on the required list for everyone. It is forceful, readable, and at times brilliant.

The TVA was originally conceived as a vast experiment which, if successful, was to serve as a guide for similar enterprises in the other great river valleys. Now, after ten years, it stands as one of the most enduring and important single achievements of Roosevelt's administration. The inauguration of similar projects throughout the country will become a major and immediate issue after the war.

TVA is not just a large publicly-owned power system, the greatest river engineering job in the world. It has meant primarily the unified development of total regional resources in the interests of the people—a unity imposed by nature itself. Soil conservation, reforestation, flood control, power production, public health, industrial and community development, became—in Mr. Lillienthal's phrase—part of a "seamless web." The TVA supplied free phosphate to the "demonstration farmers" of the region, reclaiming soil once classed as submarginal. The manufacture of these phosphates was made possible by TVA electricity and by the resourcefulness of TVA technicians. The TVA has brought power consumption in the valley to a level far above the national average, with resulting benefits to agriculture, industry, and domestic consumers. At the same time power development has not been allowed to take precedence over flood control engineering. The two objectives have been harmonized, so that today the Tennessee is the only great river in the United States which is completely under control. Freedom from the menace of floods in itself relieves the valley of a heavy burden, while improved farming methods and reforestation are checking the erosion cycle at its source. Public recreational areas are being developed around the great artificial lakes and waterways created by river control.

These achievements, in Mr. Lilienthal's opinion, have been possible only because the TVA has enlisted the support and active participation of the valley people. "Democracy at the grass roots," he calls it. Community consciousness has been stimulated, higher levels of citizenship attained, vigorous local leadership has emerged.



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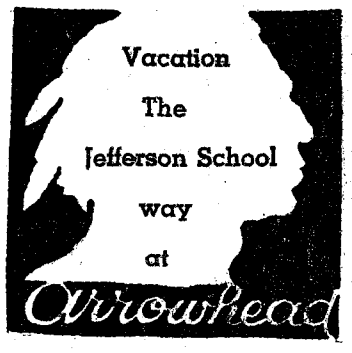

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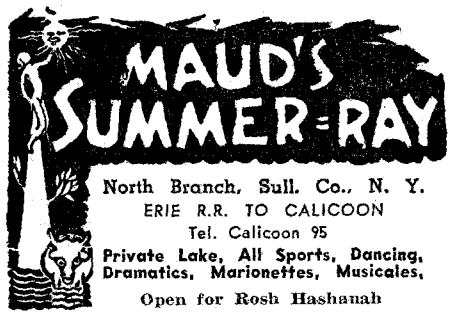

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Mr. Lilienthal's discussion of the methods by which such democratic participation can be achieved is an important contribution to the philosophy of public administration and is in fact the main thesis of his book. He argues that decentralization is essential for the successful administration of federally controlled programs. Federal authority must continue to expand, but it can be regionalized, diversified, and brought close to the people. He advocates the organization of administrative regions of manageable size, regions set off by natural and cultural characteristics rather than by political boundaries.

True decentralization, as he defines it, can exist only under two conditions. First, responsibility for decision must rest with the regional administration, not in a national office; second, the people of the region, and their public and private institutions, must participate in the formation and application of these decisions. Lack of authority in the field, the necessity of clearing everything with a central bureau, in itself cuts off the possibility of effective local participation.

Decentralization, and the vesting of responsibility in the field, includes freedom from the legislative restrictions on management and budgeting which tie the hands of practically all federal agencies. No small part of the TVA's success can be attributed to its unusual freedom from such restrictions and its consequent ability to apply the best principles of modern business management.

Mr. Lilienthal looks forward to a postwar world of increasing democracy, rising standards of living, international cooperation, and peace. The TVA experience in resource development and public management can be put to good use in such a world. Among the people of the valley the TVA has created "an expansive spirit, a note of confidence and hope in the future." It is a workable blueprint for tomorrow.

CATHERINE HARRIS.

Big Package, Little Gift

SHE walks from opulent hips and her undulation flaunts both promise and satirical impudence. She never sits but disposes herself with a humorous awareness of speroidal balance. She is the very embodiment of sexual attraction; but she has abstracted all its alluring elements, she parades them in public trust, and always she laughs at them from under hooded eyes. She speaks with a caressing tongue and her voice is low and honey-timbered; but she is the queen of the double entendre and her courtiers will roar if she sneezes. And it is precisely this comic intelligence informing every aspect of her presence that reduces the inciting power of the sexual idea to the disarming level of a gag. For lecherous attention is a serious business which laughter like too much nosepaint must dispel. Her name is Mae West.

Appearing in something she wrote, entitled *Catherine Was Great*, she is vastly amusing until the repetitious exhibition of her slim technique builds tolerance against itself. The weird something, neither play nor musical book, is packaged by Howard Bay in wrappings whose imaginative qualities are too often a burden on the awkward content. Roy Hargrave did the staging. Once more, as in *Naked Genius*, Michael Todd has demonstrated a pathetic trust in the sales value of sex. But in the theater, even sex must fail without the sweet disturbance of wit or passion or creative play. Last year, this was proven by Gypsy Rose Lee. This year, Mae West is Todd's instructress.

HARRY TAYLOR.

Poland

(*Continued from page* 22)

made, a dispatch from London by Geoffrey Parsons, Jr. in the August 8 New York *Herald Tribune* told the whole story of this tragic fiasco. "So far as one can discover," wrote Parsons, "the Polish government made no effort to advise the British or the American government, either of which could have consulted the Soviet government in behalf of the Poles, before it instructed General Bor in Warsaw to bring his underground into action. . . . There is a strong feeling here that the signal 'tempest,' the code word calling for the Warsaw uprising, was issued by the London Poles more for political considerations than to help the Allied cause."

It is clear that whoever ordered the attack in Warsaw did so with the hope that should Warsaw be liberated before the Red Army got there, then the London emigres could claim that they and not the Red forces were responsible for the freeing of the city; and if the Warsaw insurrection failed, then the emigres could always blame the Soviet Command for failing to assist. Now hundreds of fighters have been needlessly sacrificed in premature action, but

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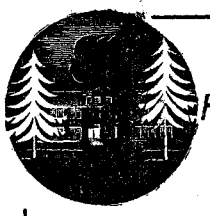
that is hardly anything new for General Sosnkowski, whose dreams of empire are heedless of Polish life.

Intelligent Capitalism

ONE of the most illuminating discussions of a central question of our time is contained in an article, "Must Capitalism and Communism Clash?" by Geoffrey Crowther, editor of the London *Economist*, which appeared in the New York *Times Magazine* of August 6. In his approach to this problem there is a candor and objectivity that is in refreshing contrast to most American discussions of the subject, whether in the conservative or liberal press. Mr. Crowther points out that the answer to his question depends more on capitalism than on Communism as represented by the Soviet Union. "If capitalism can be induced to refrain from attacking Communism, I see no reason why the two systems of economic government should come into serious conflict." In fact, Mr. Crowther thinks the quarrels over international trade are more likely to develop within the capitalist world than between capitalist countries and the USSR. "There is a difference of view already between the *laissez-faire* captalists and the planning capitalists—that is, those who believe that the only way to preserve private enterprise is for the state to insure the conditions in which it can operate."

This leads Mr. Crowther to an extension of his argument to the question: "Can capitalism and Communism live together in peace in the same country?" And he replies: "I do not know whether they can, but they certainly must." What he means by the coexistence of capitalism and Communism within one country is that "the economic system of the future must have elements both of private enterprise and of collective organization." He cites as fields in which "collective organization" is already established education and some forms of health provision. He suggests that "the distribution of food will also, before the century is out, be largely based on the collectivist principle." What Mr. Crowther designates—erroneously, we believe—as "Communism" or "collectivism" within a country is, in fact, greater government intervention on the basis of the private enterprise system to assure full production and employment and the healthful functioning of our economy. He takes issue with those Americans who "contend that unaided private enterprise can solve the problem of indus-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trial fluctuations." And he warns that unless a more positive attitude toward government collaboration is adopted, "our society, like many before it, will die of its internal contradictions."

All this, though it comes from the editor of one of the leading organs of British big business, will strike our most rugged individualists, particularly those who are looking for salvation to a little man in Albany, N. Y., as the purest Bolshevism. It is, of course, nothing but intelligent capitalism. And though Mr. Crowther does not deal directly with the question whether Communists in each country should be included in the national unity required to carry out his program, we have no doubt that as a spokesman for intelligent capitalism, he would favor it. His type of intelligence seem to be more prevalent in British upper circles than in American, but there is reason to believe that this monopoly, like the British industrial monopoly of the nineteenth century, will eventually be broken by the Americans.

Walter Lippmann

(*Continued from page* 14)

way in the marketplace without befriending its customers, yet insists that these customers bend their knees and bow their heads before they can be made welcome. In that respect Lippmann's latest book really hurts the national interest because in effect he sees it as something separate and apart from the interests of the world as a whole.

WHEN that becomes the core of thinking, Lippmann naturally ignores all those problems that belong in the economic sphere of our foreign relations. It is significant that the whole *of U.S. War Aims,* except for three or four unsatisfactory pages, does not begin to grapple with the economic bases of the peace. His book disposes of them lightly and he has nothing to say of how they parallel any planning for universal organization. I shall not attempt to probe the reasons for this shortcoming but merely underscore that it provides some insight into the fogginess of Lippmann's thinking.

It becomes even foggier when contrasted with the way in which the President has gone about the whole issue of world security. There is operative in the President's approach the basic commitments of the Moscow and Teheran meetings. This immediately becomes a functional approach because it assumes a core of four powers which because of

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their wealth, size, position and democratic perspective can become the magnetic center for a family of nations. The President finds no incompatibility between national and international interests. What follows are world conferences on food, rehabilitation, monetary stabilization and loans, oil, aviation and so forth—with all these meetings addressing themselves now or later to the real problems on which any structure of peace must rest. Mr. Roosevelt makes no demand on the Soviet Union that it revise its way of life before it can be accepted. It is apparent in all he has said that without the USSR there can be neither peace nor prosperity. With this as a point of departure the security conferences beginning in Washington August 21 are certain of success, however difficult such negotiations may be.

What do Mr. Lippmann and those who go along with him offer? They offer something which on the surface seems very well organized in tight compartments of power but which in reality seethes with frictions of one kind or another. I shall not even ask the question how British ruling circles will enjoy living in an Atlantic Community consolidated by the United States. Nor will I ask how the French will like it. When Marshal Smuts, and Lord Halifax in a more moderate way, proposed ideas not too different from Lippmann's there was more than one outburst of anger in this country and Algiers.

Mr. Lippmann may think that if his proposal were adopted by the Republicans the "intentional ambiguities" of their foreign plank would evaporate. But it would become even more ambiguous, if that were possible, than it already is. For despite all the architectural preciseness of his plans they would inevitably result in chaos and bitterness and heartache. His book is freighted with fantasy and I am not at all surprised that it has not won the same popular acclaim as his book published last year. That too is a measure of public reaction to absolutist dreams.

No one could wish more than I that Mr. Lippmann return to more solid ground. As a quasi-official political adviser to large sections of the middle class and to important segments of the business community, his columnar opinions of the last three years have for the most part aided in shaping a fruitful understanding of the new age in which we live. But the new age needs pioneers who will see America's destiny not in private or partisan eccentricities but in the promise and hope that is Teheran.

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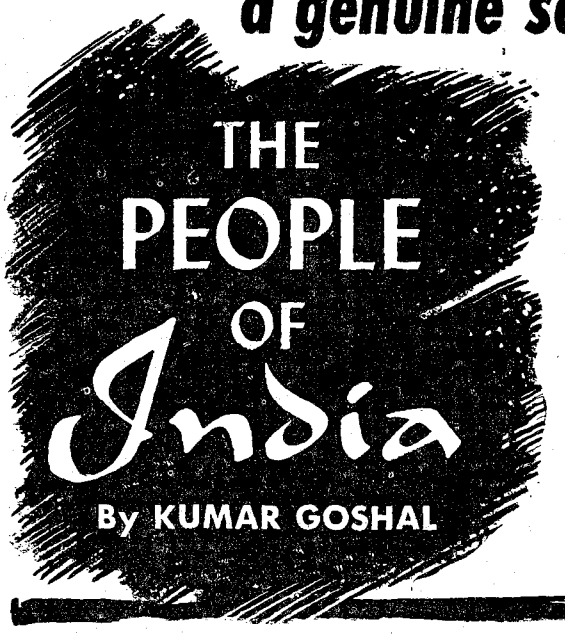

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